

People,

A catalogue of a travelling  
exhibition celebrating the  
books of Australia,  
1788-1988

print &

paper



Title page from *Song of the Wheat* (1915).

People,

A catalogue of a travelling  
exhibition celebrating the  
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Michael Richards

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paper

National Library of Australia  
Canberra

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## PREFACE

A book is at once the most fragile and the most durable of man's artifacts. I can think of no better way of introducing this exhibition than by reminding you of the words of men greater than I; words preserved and transmitted to you by institutions such as this one, the National Library of Australia.

So let the book men speak for themselves:

Books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them.

John Milton, *Areopagitica*.

In Books lies the *soul* of the whole Past Time; the articulate audible voice of the Past, when the body and material substance of it has altogether vanished like a dream . . . . All that Mankind has done, thought, gained or been: it is lying as in magic preservation in the pages of books. They are the chosen possession of men.

Thomas Carlyle, *On heroes and hero-worship. The hero as man of letters*.

Books are life's best business: vocation to these hath more emolument coming in, than all the other busy terms of life. They are . . . . of easy access and kind expedition, never sending away empty any client or petitioner, nor by delay making their . . . . Courtesies injurious.'

Richard Whitlock, *Zoötomia*.

The sum and purpose of this exhibition is to demonstrate how, over two centuries, the "soul of Past Time" has been preserved and how its growth has been charted, by writers, printers, booksellers, publishers and librarians.

In this place we work that the book may live, that it may be preserved, that it may be made available, in the shortest possible time, to the greatest number of people. We are not simply conservators, not simply jealous guardians of old treasures. We are engaged in the traffic of information, so that the past may enrich the present and the dark places of our ignorance may be illuminated by a sudden glimpse of light from the future.

Morris West  
Chairman of Council

16 February 1988

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## INTRODUCTION

### **The Australian book trade**

Although printing presses travelled as essential tools of government with the men and women who established the British colonies in Australia, the high cost of printing in Australia and the smallness of the population, scattered across the vast distances of the new continent, long hampered the emergence of an Australian publishing industry. In contrast, once the earliest years were over, the hunger of Australians for books created a prosperous bookselling trade which in time laid the foundations for publishing. At the end of the nineteenth century, at a time when the connection between bookselling and publishing was becoming more and more tenuous in Britain, Australian booksellers such as the two George Robertsons were able to offer Australian writers local access to print on a scale that had been impossible for most of the nineteenth century. Their success, and that of such bookselling pragmatists as E.W. Cole and A.C. Rowlandson, was due in no small part to their vast experience of what it was that Australians wanted to read. ¶The catalogue which follows charts the publishing history that is hinted at above. The method, which is one of annotation of each item rather than continuous narrative, runs the risk of being too episodic, but it has the merit of empiricism, and of conveying something of the variety of publishing with which we are concerned. On the other hand, the history of bookselling can be succinctly summarized at this point, along lines indicated by the pioneering work of Elizabeth Webby and Wallace Kirsop, and at the same time something of the inter-connection of publishing and bookselling in Australia can be indicated. ¶There was hardly an organized book trade in Australia until the second decade of the nineteenth century. People took books with them when they left for Australia, and added to them by individual correspondence with booksellers, friends or family. When their owners died, or returned to Europe, these books were frequently sold. Although there were no fulltime booksellers in Sydney until the 1830s, many people took advantage of the high prices books fetched by importing them as a speculation. These speculative consignments began in 1821, and continued until at least the 1850s. Elizabeth Webby has estimated that over 73,000 volumes were advertized for sale in Australia in the 1830s, in contrast to 12,000 in the 1820s. By the 1840s over 200,000 volumes were advertized in Sydney alone. At the same time the first generation of Australian booksellers had begun to establish themselves, often running circulating libraries as well as selling other goods. John Fawcner of Melbourne, for example, sold beer, pigs and cattle as well as second-hand books after 1838. The first Sydney bookseller was possibly Robert Howe, who succeeded his printer father George Howe and also combined bookselling and stationery with

printing. Before long bookshops were no longer startlingly new sights in the streets of Australia's towns, although it was not until the 1850s and 1860s that they appeared in provincial centres. Jeremiah Moore had set up the first of several rough, lean-to bookstalls in George Street, Sydney, by about 1842. Charles Platt had opened a circulating library and bookshop in Currie Street, Adelaide, in 1840, and had over 3,000 volumes in the library by 1849, and in 1844 Samuel Tegg advertized his splendid assortment of books, stationery and fancy goods, to be viewed at his premises in Brisbane Street, Launceston, nine years after establishing himself with his brother James in Sydney. These are just a few of their names: from 1788 to the present day, Australia has been a civilization of print, with a hunger for books that for long made Australia the most significant export market of the British book trade. ¶Wallace Kirsop has labelled the consignment trade a form of dumping: at best these were the books that Australians might want to read, and they might simply be the remainders that could not be sold in Britain. As a defence against these vagaries, the Australian institutions beginning to build substantial libraries developed their own acquisitions links with foreign suppliers. Perhaps in response, the new colonial booksellers such as George Robertson of Melbourne then set up their own buying offices in London, employing experienced agents such as E. A. Petherick, whose own collection of Australiana was to become the basic collection of the National Library of Australia. ¶The Australian retail booksellers who thus gained access to the whole range of British publishing produced their own catalogues and literary cum advertizing journals, ran their own auction sales for booksellers only, and became the essential wholesalers at the centre of a network of smaller bookshops, circulating libraries and institutional libraries. They were still firmly tied to the import of books from Europe, largely although not entirely from Britain. ¶In the 1880s, at a time when the beginnings of what was to become large-scale Australian publishing can dimly be discerned in the first books of Angus & Robertson, English and Scottish firms also began to establish their own offices in Australia. This augured an eventual return to largely foreign control of publishing, although for a time Australian-based booksellers mounted a challenge to British publishers as well as book exporters, particularly in Sydney, where Angus & Robertson was based. George Robertson of Melbourne also played an important role as a publisher in the latter decades of the century, particularly in educational publishing, but it was his younger namesake in Sydney who was the most successful Australian publisher of his day, at a time when mass publishing began in Australia, and who was the powerhouse of Australian bookselling and publishing in the 1910s and 1920s. ¶Major publishing projects such as *The Australian encyclopaedia* (1925) and "Cayley's birds of Australia" were planned, and the N.S.W. Bookstall Company sold over four million novels by Australian authors. There was a healthy market for books in a society where widespread literacy ensured not only sales of newspapers, magazines and books for adults but school texts for children as well, the latter on a massive scale for the few books chosen for highly-centralized curriculums. Vast bookshops such as Cole's Book Arcade in Melbourne

and its imitator Dymock's in Sydney brought cheap books within the reach of many, and the success of the often nationalistic journalism of the 1890s seemed to augur well for Australian writing and bookselling. Yet there was still a fundamental reliance on the products of the British book trade. There is a telling similarity between one of Cole's most eye-catching advertizements, the rainbow-ornamented sea-serpent carrying thousands of books from England to Australia, and the steamships loaded with the latest titles arriving weekly which Harris & Wright's Circulating Library advertizements promised its subscribers some forty years later, at a time when a new generation of publishers and booksellers had lost much of the initiative in publishing for the Australian market. ¶The British publishing houses of the 1930s and 1940s had become comparatively skilled at mass-marketing techniques and were able to draw on the resources of an infinitely more complex and sophisticated trade than Australia could support. This is nowhere more evident than in that skill known as editing. Tight, professional editorial control is essential to the making of a lasting book, and to cost-effectiveness in production. It was a skill in short quantity in Australia until the 1960s, as was that element of publishing risk-taking which might have found ways around the monolithic tastes of Australian readers in the middle decades of this century. The Depression of the 1930s in particular slowed local publishing, and war-time shortages of paper compounded the problem. Although the 1930s and 1940s were decades of mass reading on a scale never before witnessed in Australia—by 1940 there were over 400 circulating libraries in Melbourne alone, a 400 per cent increase in ten years – the romances, westerns and thrillers that provided affordable entertainment to much of the population of Australia's cities were mostly written abroad, and dealt with themes and scenes more relevant to the subscribers of the circulating libraries of Britain. ¶British publishers have been powerful enough in the Australian market to deny booksellers access to American publishers until comparatively recently. British publishing houses have nonetheless been crucial sources of innovation in a trade that at times has been stultifyingly mediocre. Often, the offices they maintained in Australia became the centres of publishing programs of their own, rather than simply being the distribution point for the products of their mother houses. There, they trained people who are now highly ingenious and entrepreneurial publishers in their own right. At the same time, foreign-owned publishers have imposed paradigms of writing that reflect British traditions and British history, and that for many years greatly reinforced the monocultural narrowness of Australian life. That process was internalized as well: a study of the readers' reports and the editing of the books published by Angus & Robertson by men such as T.G. Tucker and Arthur Jose would be an important contribution to our understanding of the loyalty of Australians to British culture.

### **People, Print & Paper: the scope of the exhibition**

People, Print & Paper is a statement about the importance of books to that discovery of Australia which began afresh in 1788, and about the

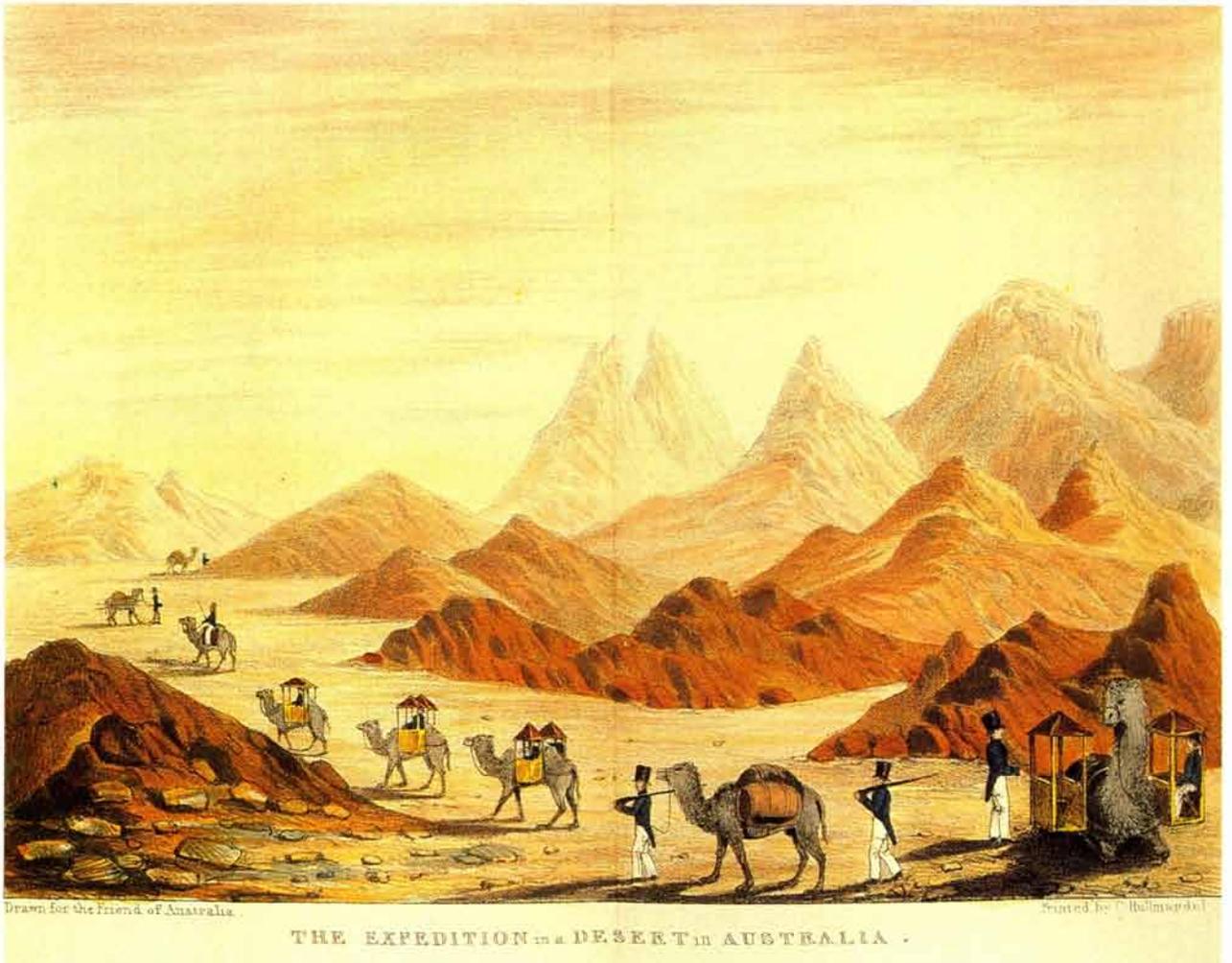
relevance of the books written by the discoverers to all of us today. That discovery is as much that of Eve Langley in the 1940s, Helen Garner in the 1970s and Sally Morgan in the 1980s as it is that of Thomas Watling and Watkin Tench in the 1780s and 1790s. It is a discovery of landscape that is constantly re-made, as the many different possibilities for mapping and reading the terrain of Australia are explored. It is an exploration of Australian society that reflects the great triumphs and failures of our ability to live together in this land with purpose and harmony. It is a part of the enduring agenda of the Bicentenary, a searching look at where we have been as a society, at the need to own a past that at times horrifies, and that at other times exhilarates. And, in common also with the Bicentenary, it is a celebration: a celebration of the power, the beauty, and the companionship of books. ¶Although some items have been borrowed from other libraries and private collectors, whose support is gratefully acknowledged, the greater part of the exhibition comes from the collection of the National Library of Australia. All major libraries have a duty to display their treasures and to put them into context. In the case of the National Library this must include not only the fabled rarities and the lavish private press books in the Library's keeping, but also the books that have been part of ordinary life in Australia for two hundred years. More than any other library in Australia, the National Library's mission is to preserve and make accessible the entire printed output of the nation. Selection of just under 400 books from that wide category of work has been made possible by excluding newspapers and other printed items except as they relate to books. To do so is not to deny the importance of non-book material, but it enables a presentation of a crucial part of Australian print culture in a coherent manner. ¶It is perhaps as well to make it clear what this exhibition is not. It is not to do with literary merit. It is not a history of Australia, nor is it a history of the book in Australia, although it is a pointer in that direction. Further, this exhibition and the catalogue that accompanies it is not a list of the great books of Australia. People, Print & Paper has to do with the history of bookselling and publishing in Australia, and it has something to say about the reading of books in Australia. As any historical work must be, it is a fishing expedition: a dredging of the sea, a sampling of the past which can make no claim to totality, an attempt to see something of what lies under the eddies and at the still points of Australia's past as a culture of the book. ¶There are many directions this exhibition could have taken. At times it may appear that the books chosen exist within a closed world, that they connect to each other in ways that artificially suggest an overriding unity of purpose. Selection could well have emphasized variety and the multitude of agendas that have mattered to Australians, at all times instead of occasionally, but one of the messages of the exhibition concerns that sense in which the writing, publishing and selling of books is part of a long conversation. Most of the books selected are by men, reflecting the greater access men have had to print in Australian culture, although the exhibition is also partly a vehicle for restoration to common discourse of some of the shamefully neglected texts of Australian women. One of the themes that the

exhibition constantly returns to is the willingness of Australians to make their own books, if for some reason a publisher is not available or is not desired. This ingenuity and resourcefulness has produced some of the most striking books of our culture. ¶The exhibition is concerned with books that may be called Australian according to the criteria proposed by H. M. Green: those written by residents of Australia, out of experience gained during residence; those that have made a major contribution to Australian writing; and those that have been profoundly influenced by Australian surroundings. Considering books as simply a manifestation of text, place of publication is not important in comparison with place of origin. The work of Australians abroad that is not concerned with Australian themes and subjects is deliberately excluded. For example, arguably the finest travel book by an Australian is Marcel Aurrousseau's *Highway into Spain* (1930). It qualifies in none of these categories, just as the books of the Fanfrolico Press are not eligible for inclusion. Most people will have different ideas about which books should be part of such an exhibition. But to say "where is X" and "how could he possibly leave out Y" is, although inevitable, to risk missing the point of the endeavour. This is not the National Library's statement of what should be in the Australian literary canon. It is a demonstration of what the National Library's task of building and preserving the national heritage collection of Australian books is all about, and of what that collection can tell us about Australia. ¶The exhibition is structured around a central sequence, which deals in a generally chronological method with books published from 1819, when the first book of poetry was published in Australia, to the present day. Paralleling that main sequence, which has as its object a narrative of the coherence of an Australian book tradition, are seven thematic explorations. These themes are briefly introduced, whereas the main chronological statement, covering a myriad of ideas and topics, stands on its own. The books dealt with in the thematic sequences are not of lesser importance than elsewhere, as should be evident from the inclusion of the *New South Wales general standing orders* (19), the first book printed in Australia, in the convict theme. Thus some of the books at the centre of the Aboriginal struggle for justice; the convict system; and the image of Australia presented by the First Fleet writers are highlighted; along with children's books; the books of the arts press and artists' books; private press books; and the books which record the beginnings of natural history and agriculture by white people in Australia. These categories are only indicative, as all categorization should be.

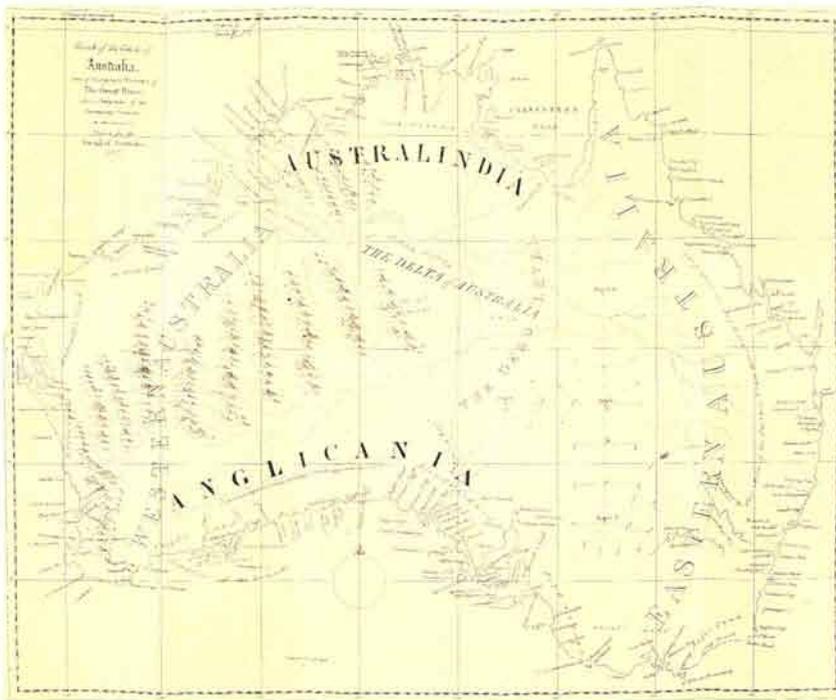
### **The nature of the catalogue**

This catalogue is not an exercise in analytical bibliography, in the exhaustive physical description of the books: space has instead been given to annotation that justifies the inclusion of a book in the exhibition. Short titles only are given, but all are accurate transcriptions of the title-page. The form of authors' names and choice of main entry is usually that used by the Australian Bibliographic Network, through which the national bib-

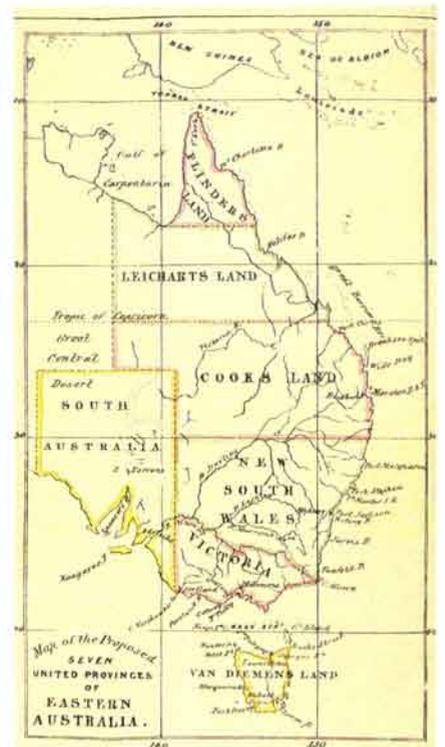
liographic database is available to libraries across the entire Australian continent, and is set out in accordance with *Anglo-American cataloguing rules*, 2nd edition, a uniform cataloguing code which has been devised by the world's leading English-speaking libraries. Life dates of authors are given, except in cases where they are not known or where, in some contemporary instances, it would appear that an author prefers not to disclose the year of his or her birth. All items described have full bibliographic descriptions either on the Australian Bibliographic Network or in Ferguson's *Bibliography of Australia*. ¶The extent of annotation has sometimes been determined by the importance of an item, and sometimes by the discovery of new material that deserves full elucidation. Scholarly conventions are adhered to in the accuracy of quotations, and sources are acknowledged. Rather than interrupting the text with continual footnoting, sources are indicated in the suggested further reading listed at the end of the catalogue.



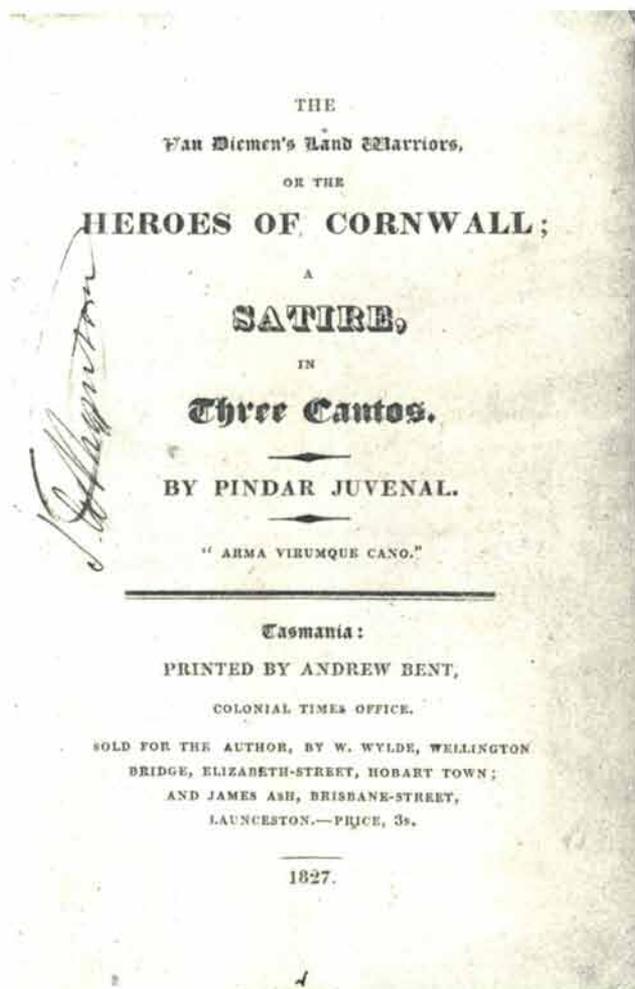
"The expedition in a desert in Australia", in T.J. Maslen, *The friend of Australia* (catalogue no. 86)



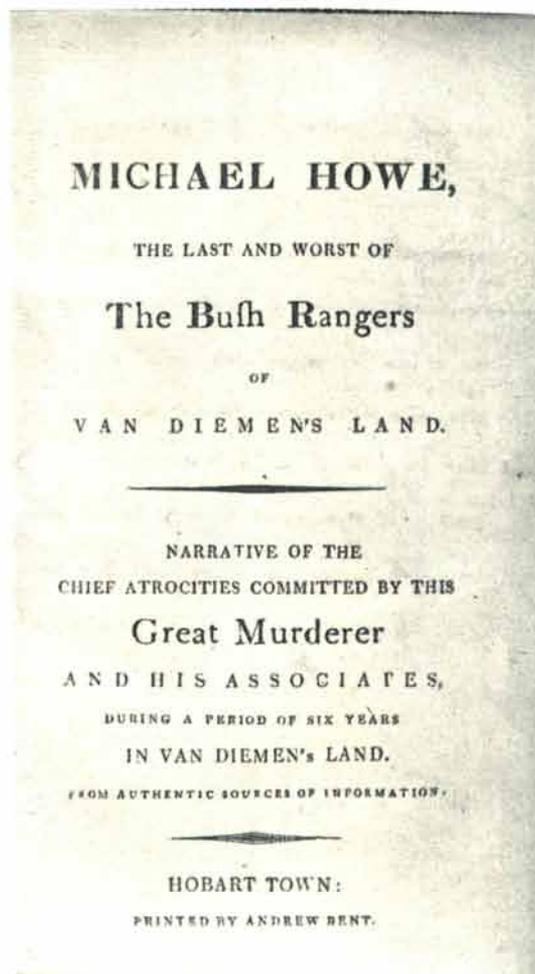
T.J. Maslen's map of Australia (catalogue no. 86).



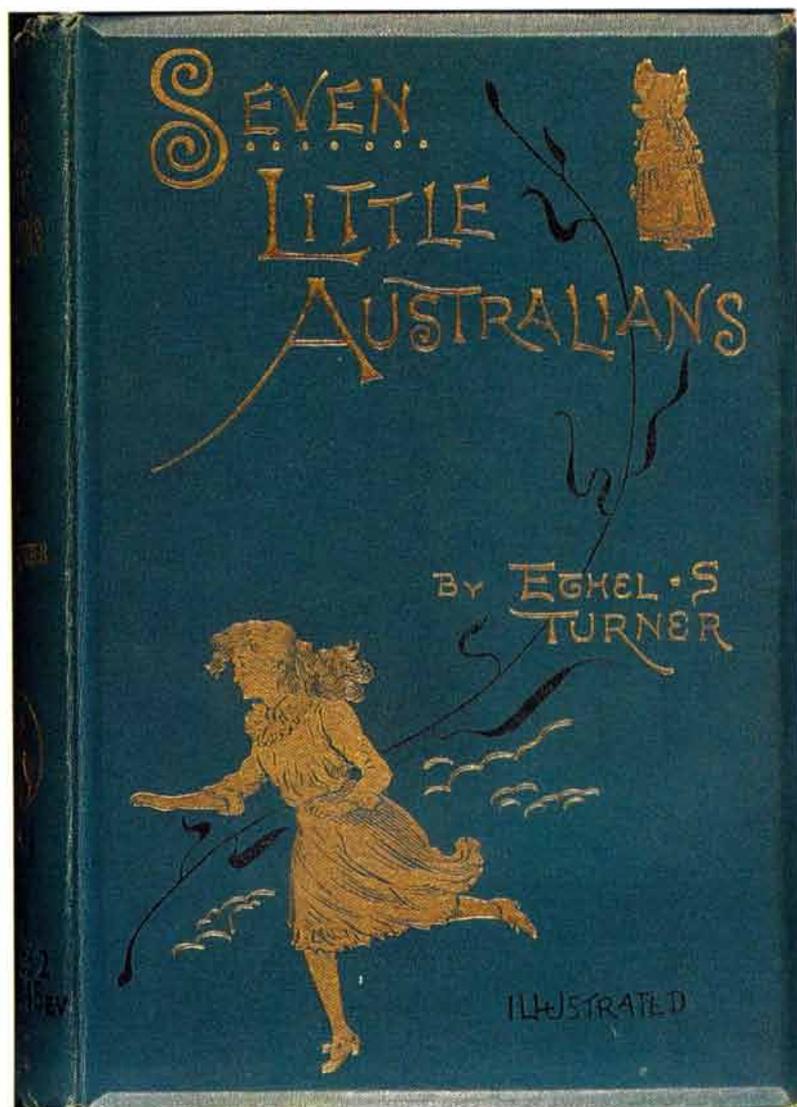
J.D. Lang's provincial boundaries (catalogue no. 204).



Pindar Juvenal, *The Van Diemen's Land warriors* (catalogue no. 266)



Thomas Wells, *Michael Howe* (catalogue no. 30)



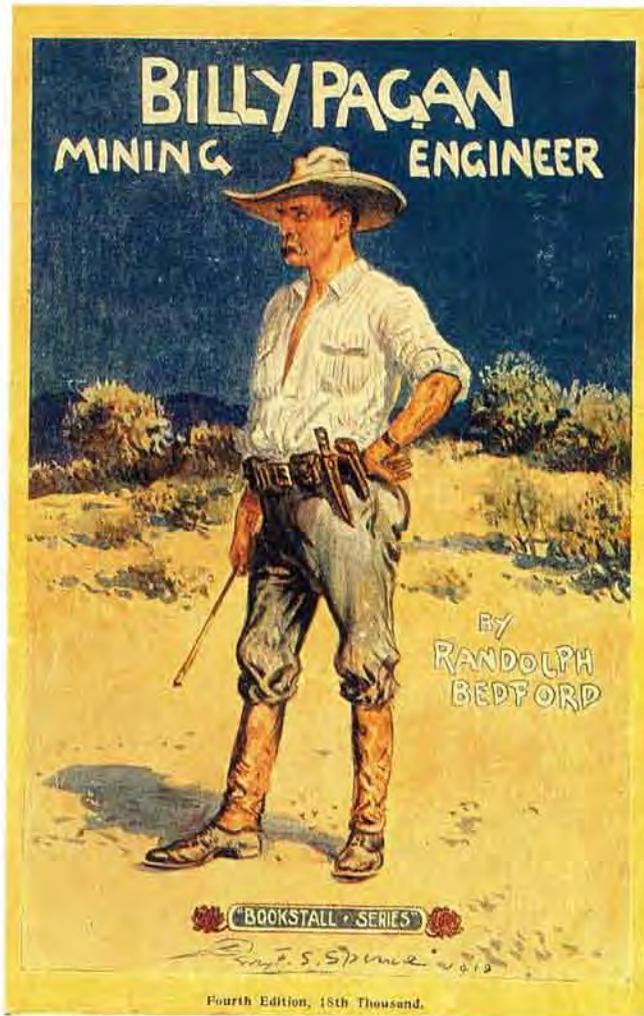
Ethel Turner, *Seven little Australians* (catalogue no. 201)



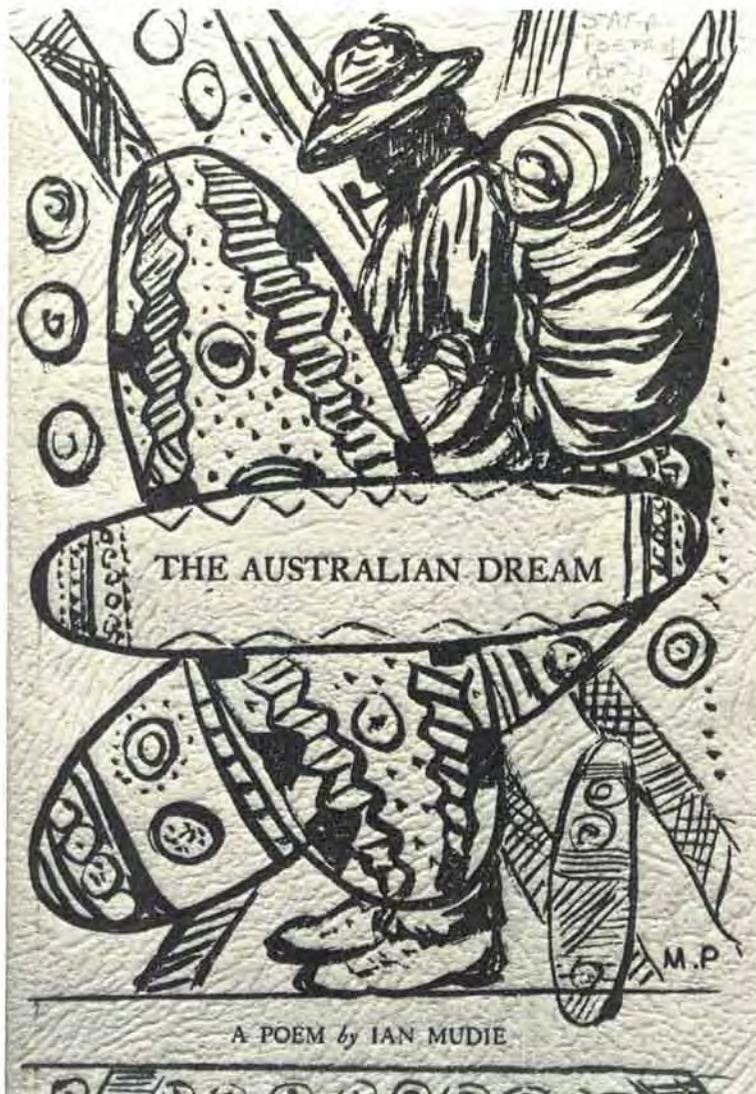
Barbara Macdonald, *A new book of old rhymes* (catalogue no. 230)



Kookaburra drawn by Neville Cayley in a copy of his *What bird is that?* (catalogue no. 135)



Randolph Bedford, *Billy Pagan mining engineer*  
(N.S.W. Bookstall Company)

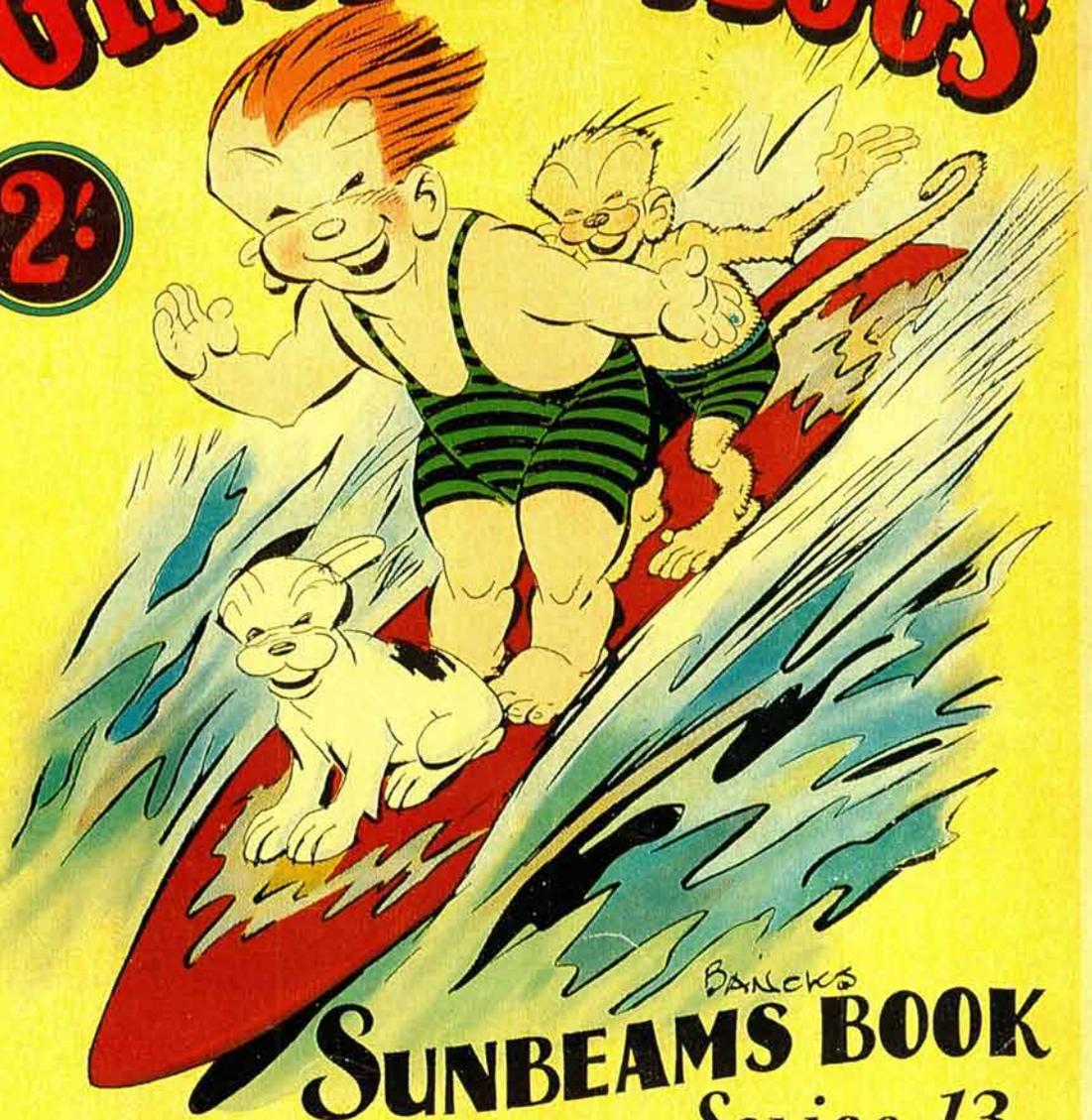


Cover by Margaret Preston for Ian Mudie, *The Australian dream* (catalogue no. 353)

MORE ADVENTURES

of  
**GINGER MEGGS**

2!



**SUNBEAMS BOOK**  
*Series 13*

Wholly set up and printed in Australia by Sun Newspapers Ltd., 66-68 Elizabeth St., Sydney, 1936. Registered at G.P.O., Sydney, for transmission through the post as a book.

J.C. Bancks, *More adventures of Ginger Meggs*, 1936  
(catalogue no. 232)



George Robertson the elder's bookshop at 361 George Street, Sydney, where George Robertson of Sydney, David Angus and William Dymock all began their Australian bookselling careers.



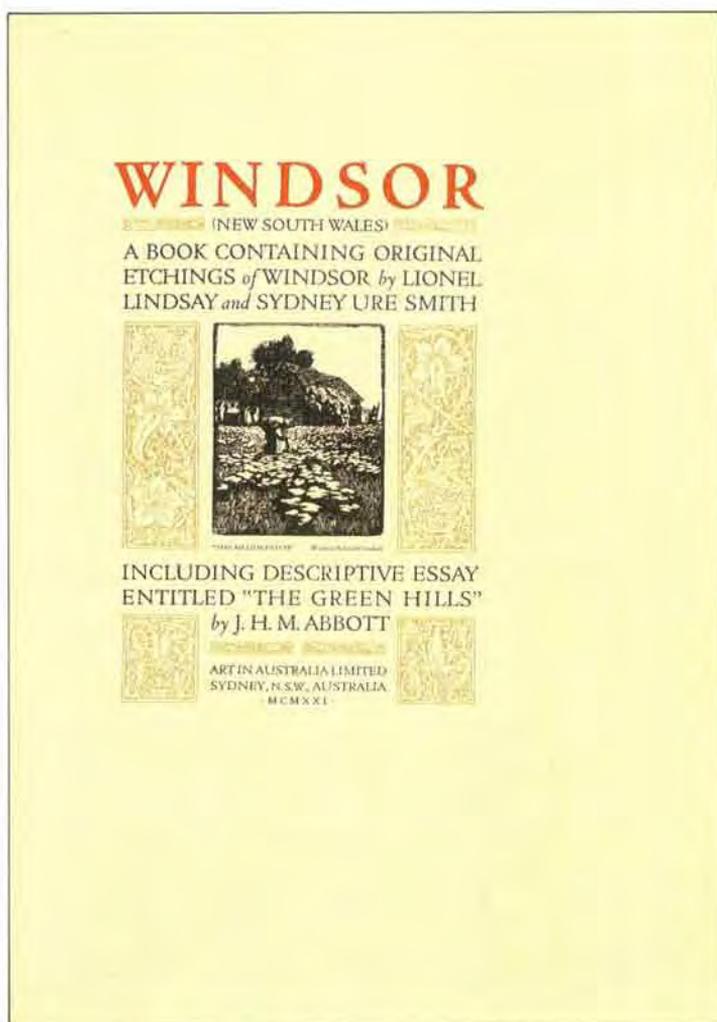
John Kirtley hand-setting type and printing (catalogue nos 178-180). Kirtley Papers, La Trobe Library



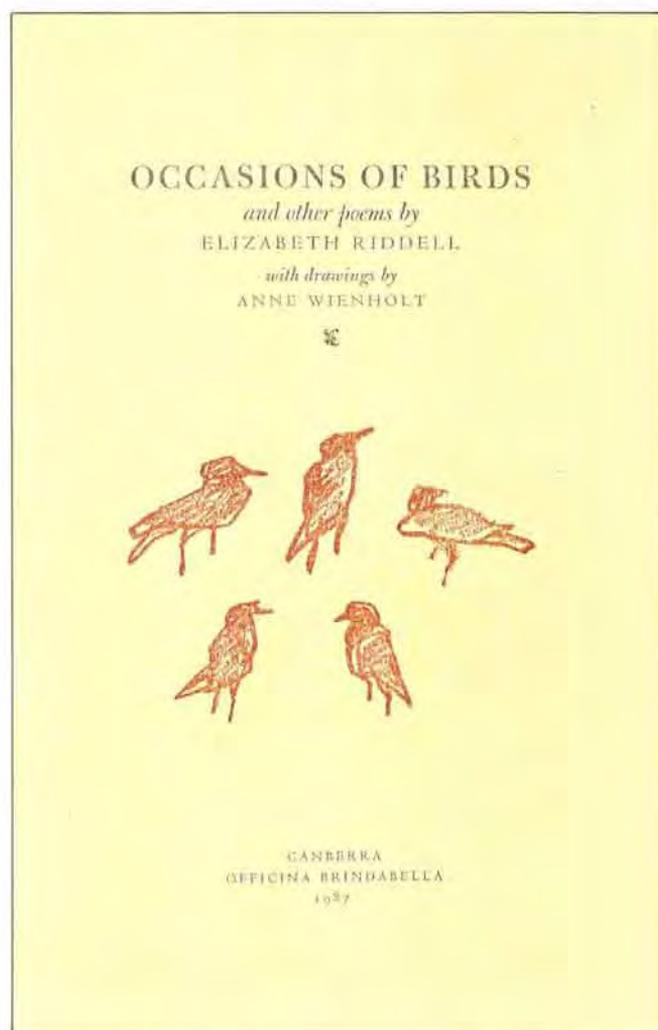
Percy Neville Barnett tipping-in his illustrations (catalogue nos 167-168), National Library of Australia



Christian Waller, *The great breath* (catalogue no. 166)



Lionel Lindsay, *Windsor* (catalogue no. 159)



Elizabeth Riddell, *Occasions of birds* (catalogue no. 187)

# THE FIRST FLEET AND ITS SUCCESSORS

*Books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them.*

John Milton, *Areopagitica* (1644).

**T**HE MOTIVES OF the British Government in establishing a settlement on the east coast of Australia in 1788 are still unclear, and are debated by historians. It is easier to discover what happened after the decision than it is to fathom its motive: deceptively easier, for the books of the First Fleet officers tell just a few versions of a story that had as many sides to it as there were people affected by the fleet's passage to the Antipodes of England. Much is obscured.

Obscured, too, is our understanding of which books came with the First Fleet, as part of the cultural baggage of the colonization. A few are well attested to: others may be guessed at. Was there a Milton? A Shakespeare? The printed music of Mozart? An attempt is made here to recreate something of that stock of books. We begin however with two of the books that might have been read by the women and men embarking on that long, risky voyage.

**1** *A Description of Botany Bay, on the east side of New Holland, in the Indian Seas.*  
Lancaster: Printed by H. Walmsley, [1787].

A tiny, flimsy chapbook, surviving in only two copies, this one and one at the British Library. Ephemeral publications such as this supplied the British public with scanty information about the place the Pitt Government had decided upon for settlement by the convicts, but the fuller accounts they were abstracted from were expensive and out of the reach of most. This document and others like it emphasizes that it was a settlement of convicts that was planned, the beginning of a long tradition of playing down in public the strategic considerations that were probably the real reasons for founding the colony.

Ephemeral pamphlets and anonymous books such as *The history of New Holland* (1787) must have been read by many of the participants in the First Fleet itself, anxious to discover something of their destination. Chapbooks were the news transmitters of their day, throughout the eighteenth cen-

tury and until the rise of newspapers in the nineteenth century replaced them with even cheaper sources of printed news and sensation. Thousands of these small paperbound books were produced every year in the British Isles, and were peddled from town to town by chapmen who sometimes played the part of author as well as seller, telling the tales of battle and execution, political controversy and personal tragedy, life and death.

**2** *Swift, Jonathan, Travels into several remote nations of the world, by Lemuel Gulliver.*  
1667-1745.  
London: Printed for C. Bathurst, 1760.

Another book the First Fleeters might have read to get a view of Australia. First published in 1726, *Gulliver's travels* draws on a well-established tradition of fantasies about the southern continent, and locates much of its narrative in or near the known boundaries of New Holland. Swift drew on Dampier's account of Australia to add to the reality of his account, and in later editions such as this one added a preface which mentions "my cousin Dampier".

**3** *Phillip, Arthur, The voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay.*  
1738-1814.  
London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1789.

The official report of the British settlement of Australia. Phillip describes events from March 1787 (just before the departure from the Isle of Wight) to September 1788. A number of fine maps includes the first of the settlement at Sydney Cove. As an officially sanctioned account, this is of crucial importance to an understanding of British government policy.

"A sanguinary temper was no longer to disgrace the European settlers in countries newly discovered" claimed the editor who rewrote Phillip's reports for publication. "We have been the aggressors" Phillip reported after the first clashes with the Aborigines, and he had tried to mollify the natives. But, as this and the other documents of the First Fleet attest, he was caught within the contradictions of an invasion that, much as officialdom hoped it would not be, was a dispossession by newcomers of ancient Aboriginal traditions of land ownership and usage. The decision to settle at Botany Bay may have been partly made because of Banks' and Cook's reports that the land was sparsely inhabited by people who appeared to live a wandering life, without any notion of property.

The reality of Aboriginal resistance was soon apparent to the women and men on the ground — Phillip himself was speared in the collarbone — but the seemingly vulnerable little settlement huddled on the edge of obscurity was the instrument of high policy, of British imperial ambitions in the Pacific generally, and that policy took precedence over any wish to pacify the inhabitants.

Phillip must be read for far more than his account of the Aborigines, of course. His administrative talent was made evident in the skill with which he led the First Fleet across the seas to the new country, with hardly any loss of life in comparison with later voyages. He “had in abundance that power to attach people to his person”, as Manning Clark puts it in the first volume of his *History of Australia* (1962), and his stern paternalism was missed by many after his departure for England at the end of 1792.

Published initially in parts, and then in one volume, Phillip’s book was highly successful, and was quickly followed by second and third editions in 1790. Other editions and French and German translations also followed. The title-page includes an engraving of the medallion made by Josiah Wedgwood from Sydney clay, sent to Joseph Banks by Phillip.

- 4 *Tench, Watkin.* A narrative of the  
1758 or 59–1833. expedition to Botany Bay.  
London: Printed for J. Debrett, 1789.

The first authentic account in book form of the colony, published in April 1789. Tench’s little book is a report on work in progress, sketching the events of the first months of settlement at Port Jackson. It is far less official in tone than the other early narratives, even though the author, as a Captain of Marines, was part of the official establishment. He quickly formed opinions on the future of the colony: “If golden dreams of commerce and wealth flatter their imaginations, disappointment will follow”, he warned, “but to men of small property, unambitious of trade, and wishing for retirement, I think the continent of New South Wales not without inducements”. The book was sold for three shillings and sixpence: the low price and Tench’s direct, easily readable style ensured three editions by the end of the year. A Dublin piracy and translations into French, German and Dutch also appeared quickly.

His second book, written back in England about four years later, was more cautious. Tench, White and Phillip painted a darker picture of Australia than had been the case prior to 1788, when the literary image of *Terra Australis* had been one of fantasy and paradise, in which Swift had been able to locate Lilliput, Blefuscu and Houyhnhnm-Land. There was little room for rapture about the prospects of the new colony in the journals of men who were coping with the daily reality of a grim struggle to maintain control of a poorly-equipped, hungry, criminal population camped in a hostile, alien land,

where even the sea seemed to be unproductive. This was not the gentle park like country spoken of by Banks and Cook, populated by a few harmless blacks: this was a land in which “perpetual disappointment” was an underlying reality and not an occasional moodiness. The journals of the First Fleet, for all that they conveyed to their eager readers something of the startlingly rich natural history of the new land, contributed greatly to the changing perception of Australia which Ross Gibson has characterized as a diminishing paradise.

- 5 *Tench, Watkin.* A narrative of the  
1758 or 59–1833. expedition to Botany Bay,  
Sydney: The Australian Limited Editions Society,  
1938.  
Out of series, in an edition of 500.

Many of the First Fleet books have been reprinted this century, but not often as judiciously as this, the first publication of the short-lived Australian Limited Editions Society. Percy Green designed the book and hand-set the type. “I would modernise the format of the book”, he wrote later, “and yet use the original Caslon types, for this typeface belonged in the period in which the incidents of the voyage took place. In fact, I would do everything that could be done — as colour and texture of paper, illustrations, style, to influence and involve the reader’s mind with those early conditions.” The text was that of the third edition of 1789.

- 6 *White, John.* Journal of a voyage to New  
1757 or 58–1832. South Wales.  
London: Printed for J. Debrett, 1790.

White’s bluff, profusely illustrated account was popular with the gentry back home, and was much translated. White pretended no false pacifism: while at Botany Bay, before the move of the First Fleet to Port Jackson, he spotted a group of Aborigines on the beach, some with shields. “One of the most friendly, and who appeared to be the most confident, on signs being made to him, stuck the end of his shield in the sand, but could not be prevailed upon to throw his spear at it. Finding he declined it, I fired a pistol ball through it.” No doubt the local Aborigines did indeed discover “a dislike to a musquet”.

The Surgeon-General’s account is that of a historian and a scientist, as well as that of an anecdotalist. The direct language of empirical scientific observation and military reporting was to become a characteristic of Australian writing: it is evident in these journals, and in Phillip’s reports before London bureaucracy got to them. The fine plates, particularly in the rare coloured issue such as is this copy, make this also an important early plate book, as well as one of the earliest of Australian bird books. The plates were drawn in England, from sketches done in New South Wales. Later the convict artist Thomas Watling was assigned to White, for whom he did many more drawings of birds.

- 7 *Hunter, John,* 1737-1821. An historical journal of the transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island. London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1793.

An important account of the settlers' activities, particularly at Norfolk Island, by a man who was responsible for much of the exploring and surveying work based on Sydney. The plates include notable maps and the first published engraving of Sydney after a drawing by Hunter, as well as a portrait of an Aboriginal family drawn by Philip Gidley King and engraved by the poet William Blake. Hunter's journal was prepared for publication while he was in England during the court martial occasioned by the loss of the *Sirius* in 1790.

"It will be no very difficult matter, in due time, to conciliate their friendship and confidence", he wrote of the Aborigines. He was one of the first European observers of Aboriginal firestick farming, which he speculated was to assist in hunting animals and to clear encumbering undergrowth. Extensive settlement would be an expensive business, he wrote, for the soil was poor and needed manure, which could only be provided by cattle — which would in turn require many guardians, to protect them from Aboriginal attack. Hunter later returned to New South Wales as Governor, from 1795 to 1800. His sketchbook, containing 100 watercolours mostly of birds and flowers done between 1788 and 1790, is owned by the National Library, and will be published in 1988.

- 8 *Tench, Watkin,* 1758 or 59-1833. A complete account of the settlement at Port Jackson. London: sold by G. Nicol and J. Sewell, 1793.

Watkin Tench's second, and most substantial, account of the settlement described the first four years of its existence. This time he wrote in England, and was able to draw on literary resources perhaps unavailable to him in New South Wales. He cited Voltaire's evidence that a valuing of agricultural and mechanical ability above martial prowess had occurred elsewhere, something which he observed to be happening in Australia. He was perhaps the first to record the origins of Australian vernacular slang: "the *flash*, or *kiddy* language. In some of our early courts of justice, an interpreter was frequently necessary . . . This language has many dialects. The sly dexterity of the pick pocket; the brutal ferocity of the foot pad; the more elevated career of the highwayman; and the deadly purpose of the midnight ruffian, is each strictly appropriate in the terms which distinguish and characterize it."

- 9 *Collins, David,* 1756-1810. An account of the English colony in New South Wales. London: Printed for T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, 1798.

- 10 *Collins, David,* 1756-1810. An account of the English colony in New South Wales. Vol. II. London: Printed by A. Strahan . . . for T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, 1802.

The first history of New South Wales as an English settlement, by a man who served there in powerful positions until 1796. It includes Bass' and Flinders' account of the voyage during which they discovered Bass Strait and circumnavigated Tasmania, the original version of which has disappeared, and this is the only contemporary printed record of that important expedition. The plates were engraved from sketches made by Watling.

"Thus, under the blessing of God, was happily completed, in eight months and one week, a voyage which, before it was undertaken, the mind hardly dared venture to contemplate." With these words Collins began his account, a reminder that simply getting the expedition to Botany Bay, let alone surviving there, was a logistic triumph. Collins was deputy-judge-advocate of the new colony and of the marine detachment, and from 1788 secretary to the governor. Later he established the penal settlement at Hobart, after a false start in Port Phillip Bay. His account of the early years at Sydney is the most reliable of the First Fleet journals. In the first volume he records the first encounter with Pemulwuy, who led a campaign of resistance against the European invasion. Collins was not prepared to conceive of the landing as an invasion, but he conceded that soon "these unoffending people had found reason to change both their opinions and their conduct". Collins set out to record as much as possible of every aspect of life in the settlement: "although the journals are actually a national history, they are also an intimate portrayal of an extraordinary village life", as Ross Gibson puts it.

- 11 *Easty, John.* Memorandum of the transactions of a voyage from England to Botany Bay, 1787-1793.

Sydney: Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in association with Angus & Robertson, 1965.

Easty's account is of a different world to that of the officers who produced most of the First Fleet literature: a private marine, he tells of floggings and drunkenness, court martials and mutineers "sent on a desolate Iland [sic] for a week upon Bread and water". His life was far closer to that of the convicts than to the comparatively privileged life of the officers, determinedly preserving what they could of regimental ceremony and privilege.

- 12 *Smyth, Arthur Bowes,* 1750-1790. The journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth.

Sydney: Australian Documents Library, 1979.

The previously unpublished journal of a surgeon in the *Lady Penrhyn*, which carried more than 100 female convicts to New South Wales in the First Fleet, based on a copy of the manuscript in the Mitchell Library. The original manuscript is now in the National Library.

## Later voyages of settlement

- 13 *Parker, Mary Ann.* A voyage round the world.  
fl. 1794–1795.  
London: Printed by John Nichols, 1795.

Much of Mary Ann Parker's account deals with the journey of the third fleet of 1791 to New South Wales, and its return: perhaps her cheerful account helped others to make the decision to follow voluntarily. Hers is the first report on the colony by a private traveller, and the first by a woman.

She seems to have been particularly good at picking individuals from the crowd, from a mulateer on the island of Tenerife to an Aboriginal man met in the bush near Port Jackson. Her account was outspoken in denouncing the system of transportation, which she reported had produced the deaths of two-thirds of the convicts sent out on one transport.

- 14 *Grant, James.* The narrative of a voyage of discovery.  
1772–1833.  
London: Printed by C. Roworth . . . for T. Egerton, 1803.

One of the first books concerned with Australian coastal discovery published after the settlement, and stemming from its existence. James Grant commanded the *Lady Nelson*, one of the first sea-going vessels built with a centre-board (or "sliding keel") for survey work in shallow water, which did important surveying work in Bass Strait in 1800. In 1801 Grant explored the Hunter Valley, from which expedition came the decision to establish Newcastle at its present site.

- 15 *Tuckey, J.H. (James Hingston).* An account of a voyage to establish a colony at Port Philip.  
1776–1816.  
London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1805.

"I beheld a second Rome, rising from a coalition of banditti" wrote James Tuckey of the first European settlement at the entrance to Port Phillip. The settlement was abandoned, and Collins transferred operations to Van Diemen's Land instead, but this, as the only contemporary account in book form of that first settlement, is a key work in the history of Victoria.

- 16 *Humphrey, A.W.H. (Adolarius William Henry).* Narrative of a voyage to Port Phillip and Van Diemen's Land.  
1782–1829.  
Melbourne: Colony Press, 1984.  
No. 40 of the first impression of 195 copies.

The letters home of a young scientist. Humphrey was the son of a shell dealer who had the patronage of Charles Greville, a wealthy London naturalist associated with Banks, who had a particular inter-

est in mineralogy. At the age of twenty-one Humphrey was appointed to evaluate the useful mineral resources of the colony. He too was part of the first attempted settlement at Port Phillip, and later became a leading figure in Hobart. The text is of his letters to his father, surviving in the form of copies of extracts sent to Charles Greville now held by the British Library.

## A First Fleet library

The evidence about the books shipped on the First Fleet is scattered through the host of documents associated with its voyage, and the full count is a long and difficult one. There are very few surviving First Fleet objects, such as furniture and glassware, and even paintings and drawings are not that numerous. Probably diaries and letters are the most common items to have survived: they have attracted great attention, particularly in recent years, and many have been published. The few surviving books that came out on the First Fleet have attracted surprisingly little public attention, and yet they are of considerable historical interest. When an attempt is made to identify the other books which were brought to Australia in 1788, and which have not as far as is known survived, the surprise grows even greater — very little research has been undertaken on the reading habits of the First Fleeters. Yet by looking at the books carried on the First Fleet we can see something of its cultural baggage, something of the world of ideas and knowledge carried by the colonists, our understanding of which can only be inferred otherwise through their actions and writings.

### George Johnston

- 17/1 *Annals of agriculture.*

Vol. 4. London: Printed for the editor, 1785.  
Lent by the Friends of the ANU Library.

This is the copy brought to Australia on the First Fleet by George Johnston. Arthur Young, the editor, claimed that agriculture was "the first and most important of all business". He was a widely read agricultural reformer, and many progressive agriculturalists (including George III, under the pseudonym of Ralph Robinson) wrote for the *Annals*. Johnston was presented with the first seven volumes of what was to be forty-six volumes by his guardian the Duke of Northumberland, who also gave him livestock such as the first thoroughbred mare to be sent to New South Wales, in 1793. The first volume of Johnston's set of the *Annals* is in the Mitchell Library, at the State Library of New South Wales, which holds a number of Johnston's books. Most of his ownership inscriptions in these books are dated after 1787, or were published after that date. Some that were owned in time to have travelled with Johnston on the First Fleet were

François de Salignac Fenelon's *The adventures of Telemachus*, of which one volume of the 1742 edition is held, with the inscription "Lt Johnston his book the gift of Lt Proctor Portsmouth 11 November 1778" and then "Norfolk Island 1790"; and several volumes of the 1753 Edinburgh reprint of *The Spectator* (1710–1714). Volume V is signed "Lt Johnston of the Marines 1778", and Volume VI has pencilled in it "July 12 1787 on board the Lady Penrhyn bound to Botany Bay". A 1740 English version of Marshall Turennes' *Military memoirs and maxims* would have had obvious relevance to Johnston's chosen career.

17/2

The Spectator.

Vol. 6. Reprint edition.  
Edinburgh, 1753.  
Lent by the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

### Ralph Clark

Ralph Clark mentions his reading on the voyage out, in his diary published in 1981 as *The journal and letters of Lt. Ralph Clark*. He read two plays that can be positively identified: *Douglas: a tragedy*, by John Home, and *The tragedy of Lady Jane Grey*, probably by "J.B.". *Douglas* was published in at least thirteen editions before 1787, and *Lady Jane Grey* was published in 1729. We can speculate fairly reliably that one other playscript carried in someone's baggage was George Farquhar's famous drama *The recruiting officer* (1706), which was performed in Sydney on 4 June 1789, although it must be remembered that it could have been performed from memory. Ralph Clark also mentions reading a story in *The Lady's Magazine* for 1775.

### Richard Johnson

17/3 Cruden, Alexander. A complete concordance to the Holy Scriptures.  
1701-1770  
3rd edition. London: A Cruden, 1769.  
Lent by Moore Theological College.

Richard Johnson's *Concordance* was given to him by his sponsor John Thornton, a leading evangelical cleric. In turn it was given to Samuel Marsden. An essential working tool for any clergyman, it undoubtedly accompanied Johnson on board the *Golden Grove* in 1787.

As well as copies for his own use, the Chaplain to the First Fleet was provided with 100 Bibles, 350 New Testaments and 500 Psalters, 100 prayer books and 200 catechisms by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Society gave him tracts to distribute as well, such as Stephen White's *Dissuasive from stealing* and Josiah Woodward's *Dissuasive from profane swearing and cursing offered to such unhappy persons as are guilty of these horrid sins, and are not past counsel*. These were presum-

ably meant for distribution to convicts, and "Dixon's spelling books" would have been intended for distribution to the colony's children. Twelve copies of Bishop Thomas Wilson's *An essay towards an instruction for the Indians* were of little use in his ministry to the Aborigines, for he soon wrote asking for missionaries specifically for their conversion. All told there were nearly 3,000 such items in Johnson's luggage. They are listed in Neil Macintosh's *Richard Johnson* (1978).

Johnson was increasingly discouraged by his lack of success with the convicts. In 1789 he wrote "have distributed many books among them but this I fear has done little good. One sold his Bible for a glass of liquor; others tear them up for waste paper; this discourages me greatly. I have no heart to go amongst them." Much of his stock of reading matter may have been lost when his church was burnt down in 1793, but his King James Bible, used at his first service on 3 February 1788, and his Book of Common Prayer (1784) have survived, and are preserved in St Philip's Church museum, in Sydney.

### Watkin Tench

Robert Dixon, in his book *The course of empire* (1987), points out that the Scottish moral philosopher Adam Ferguson was "an author well-known to the officers and gentlemen of the First Fleet", notably Watkin Tench. Ferguson's intention in his *An essay on the history of civil society* (1767) was "to set the ancient discipline of moral philosophy upon a modern scientific foundation". Dixon also indicates that James Burnet's *Of the origin and progress of language* (1773–1792) had an influence on First Fleet authors as great as Ferguson, but it is unclear if this was brought out to Australia. One work which had a decided influence was Oliver Goldsmith's *A natural history of the earth and animated nature* (1774), one of the ten most borrowed books in the Bristol Library from 1773 to 1784. Watkin Tench, for example, compared his sighting of an emu with Goldsmith's account. John White's journal similarly refers to John Latham's *General synopsis of birds* (1781–1785), but the reference may have been added by White's London editor.

### The Swedenborgians

Robert Hindmarsh, who translated and printed many of Emanuel Swedenborg's works into English, claimed in his *Rise and progress of the New Jerusalem Church* (1861) that he had given a large assortment of the writings of the Swedish natural scientist and spiritual philosopher to John Lowes, a surgeon on the First Fleet, "as a present for the use of the new colony". Johnson had been much opposed to them, but his friend Lowes had written to say that they had been widely distributed amongst crew, officers and convicts. He gives no titles, but by 1787 ten Swedenborg titles had been translated into English, as follows:

*Arcana caelestia* (Volume 1), translated in 1783.  
*Earths in the universe*, 1787.  
*Heaven and hell*, 1778.  
*The heavenly doctrine of the New Jerusalem*, 1780.  
*Doctrine of the Lord*, 1784.  
*Doctrine of the sacred scripture*, 1786.  
*Doctrine of life*, 1772.  
*Brief exposition of the doctrine of the New Church*,  
 1769.  
*Intercourse between the soul and the body*, 1770.  
*The true Christian religion*, 1781.

Lowes travelled to Australia on the *Sirius*, and there are fleeting mentions of him in both Hunter's and Tench's journals. In 1791 a letter of his, describing food shortages and the paradoxically high birthrate of the early years of the settlement, was published in Dublin, but no trace is known to survive of his letters to Swedenborgians in Britain.

There are other scattered references to books in the First Fleet journals, and some can safely be inferred. For example, Surgeon Arthur Bowes Smyth received as presents a four-volume "Dictionary of Art and Sciences", possibly *A New royal and universal dictionary of arts and sciences* (1771–1772), and later, from George Johnston, "Hamilton Moor's Voyages and Travels" — a reference to John Hamilton Moore's collection *A new & complete collection of voyages and travels* (1778–1780). The First Fleet must have carried a number of voyages and travels collections for practical purposes. Cook's *A voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (1784) was clearly on board, from references by Tench, Bradley and White, and it is strongly suspected that the Hawksworth 1773 collection, one of the most popular travel works of the century, also travelled with the First Fleet. Although at least some of the ten surgeons of the fleet are likely to have owned medical texts, no reference to them can be found. The first inventory of medical supplies in the colony, made by William Balmain in 1795, mentions "4 Hospital Books", but these presumably were registers rather than texts. If any legal texts were carried, they most likely included Blackstone's *Commentaries on the laws of England* (5th ed. 1732). It is known that Welsh books were carried on Cook's *Resolution* and some have been identified by Rhys Jones of the Australian National University; none have as yet been turned up for the venture led so ably by Arthur Phillip.

## THE CONVICT ERA

*One of the great difficulties in Botany Bay, is to find proper employment for the great mass of convicts who are sent out. Governor Macquarrie [sic] selects all the best artisans, of every description, for the use of Government; and puts the poets, attornies and politicians, up to auction. The evil consequences of this are manifold.*

From a review of the Bigge Report, in *The Edinburgh Review* (February 1823).

**W**ITH THE BOOKS of convict life we can begin to see something of the experience of ordinary people in the new colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. To focus on books as a manifestation of print culture is necessarily to neglect other important aspects of the interrelation between society and printing technology which the phrase "print culture" defines, in particular the ballads, stories and sensational news items printed as broadsheets and chapbooks which were such a feature of British life at the time, but the books at least survive. A few broadsheets were printed by George Howe and his successors, and others were probably brought on the convict transports and other vessels that made the long journey to Port Jackson. Some of them told of the horrors of transportation, and were perhaps as formative of opinion about the new colony amongst the poor as were the books bought by ladies and gentlemen of the polite classes. Most of these ephemeral publications have been lost, and can only be speculated about. And although books tend to survive where other print on paper is lost, several of the significant books of this period in Australian history are known only in one, two or three copies.

Their importance is almost beyond estimation. Along with the manuscripts and other printed documents of the time, they are the unchanging contemporary witnesses of the foundation years of white settlement in Australia, always able to be re-read and reinterpreted. Further, while all written historical evidence is second-hand, the product of human intervention and interpretation, in these books we have eyewitness accounts which were themselves visible to at least some of the people they record, chide and defend.

As these books suggest, the great majority of the convicts transported to Australia were sentenced in the nineteenth century: only a little over 7,000 were sent out in the eighteenth century. This

means that the time between the main period of transportation and that of the First Fleet was that of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars and the watershed years of the industrial revolution: these books emanate from almost a century of publishing. One characteristic unites the people sent to Australia as convicts: often whipped, beaten and poorly-fed, it was they, the convict women and men, who provided the cheap labour which built a nineteenth-century civilization in Australia.

- 18 *Watling, Thomas, Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay.*  
born 1762.  
Perth, Scotland: Printed by Ann Bell, [1794].  
Lent by the Dixon Library, State Library of New South Wales.

A rare view of Australia through the eyes of a convict. Watling was transported in 1791, for forgery. He had been trained as an artist, and was assigned to the Surgeon-General, John White. Both White and David Collins, the Judge-Advocate, relied on his abilities as an artist in their own works. Only three copies are known to survive of the printed version of his letters home to the aunt who had raised him, printed by a local printer in Scotland.

Ross Gibson has described Watling as "probably the first white person to attempt, in paint and in words, to test and extend a symbolic use of landscape in the Australian setting." In his *Letters from an exile* he desperately tried to come to terms with his life in New South Wales, usually surrendering to "melancholy's sombre shadow louring over my soul". His despair and alienation was projected onto the landscape he describes, in which an illusory fertility masks a waste and empty land.

Watling was pardoned in 1797 and worked in India before returning to Scotland. When and where he died is not known. It is difficult to discover much more of his life, a problem which is typical of the obscurity which limits our understanding of convict life and culture.

- 19 *New South Wales general standing orders: selected from the general orders issued by former governors, from the 16th of February, 1791 to the 6th of September, 1800: also, General orders issued by Governor King from the 28th of September, 1800 to the 30th of September, 1802.*  
Sydney: Printed at Government Press, 1802.  
Lent by the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

The first book printed in Australia. The printing press came to Australia as an instrument of official control, part of the baggage of the First Fleet. The first two printers were convicts, closely watched and subject to government orders. Most of their output concerned the day-to-day administration of the prison colony, and little is known of the first save his name, George Hughes, and that he started work as a printer in 1795. His successor was George Howe, who was transported for shoplifting in 1800. He was a printer whose father was himself a Government Printer in the West Indies. Recent archaeological work has discovered the site of the first printery, amongst the outbuildings behind the first Government House, where it was an integral part of the small but all-embracing machinery of government.

Sandra Blair has assessed the effect of the dramatic shift from script to print in official output after Howe took over at the printery. "The impact of print . . . was gradually to transform the nature and perception of authority among colonists", she writes. Colonists had been able to plead ignorance of the law when its promulgation had been haphazard and transient. This book, which Governor King ordered printed in 1802, brought together in one indexed volume legislation previously scattered in hundreds of broadsheets. Then, from 1803 onwards, regular publication by Howe of the *Sydney Gazette* took the word of government quickly into the interior of the colony, to convict and free immigrant alike.

Howe was given a full pardon in 1806, and in 1810 was granted a salary and allowed to move his printery to the commercial centre of Sydney. The move was symbolic of the transition he had made from convict to successful businessman, with a time as a public servant in between. Even as a convict, his printing operation had its entrepreneurial side. In return for use of the press and the income from the *Sydney Gazette's* advertisements and subscriptions, he had to pay for the ink and paper he used, which was always expensive.

Later generations of printers and newspaper editors have seen Howe as a government man all his life, and have dated a struggle for press freedom in Australia to the 1820s. Yet after the move from Government House in 1810 Howe produced a number of substantial books, which with his newspaper gave local authors a chance to reach the public for the first time. He was a skilful and ingenious printer, producing in Lewin's *Birds of New South Wales* (112) a fine book with meagre resources. He began work with a small, rather rickety wooden press and worn type, and after 1811 had an iron Stanhope press which, with new type, enabled him to achieve the elegance of books such as the Lewin.

Only three copies survive of the *General standing orders* of 1802. It is a key document of the history of print culture in Australia, and an apt reminder that print has from the start had a transforming effect on Australian life and culture. Because of

the extreme fragility of this work, it must be exhibited for the first month of the exhibition only, after which a facsimile will be substituted.

20

The names and descriptions of all male and female convicts arrived in the colony of New South Wales, during the year 1831.

[Sydney: *Sydney Gazette* Office, 1832.]

One of the printed convict indents, distributed to magistrates. As well as identifying convicts, their relatives in the colony and their crimes, the indents could be updated regularly. Printing meant that such vital information could be distributed with comparative ease.

21

*Ferguson, John Alexander.*  
1881-1969.

The Howes and their press.

Sydney: Sunnybrook Press, 1936.  
No. 50 of 120 copies.

Surprisingly little attention has been paid to the earliest printers of Australia, perhaps partly because so much of their output has survived in only a very few copies. Ferguson and his colleagues produced one of the finest descriptions of the Howe printers in this, the fifth book of Earnest Shea's Sunnybrook Press.

22

*Johnson, Richard.*  
1753-1827.

An address to the inhabitants of the colonies established in New South Wales and Norfolk Island.

London: Printed for the author, 1794.

The first book written for an Australian audience. Johnson was appointed chaplain to the settlement at New South Wales, and went out with the First Fleet. He was nominated by the Eclectic Society, an evangelical group of clergy and lay people interested in prison reform and missions. He also had the support of the Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel and for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and was expected by Governor Phillip to be the principal guardian of public morality in New South Wales. As Ken Cable comments in the *Australian dictionary of biography* (1967), he never quite lived up to the three roles of evangelical missionary, regular cleric and moral watchdog.

When Johnson arrived at Port Jackson he brought with him 100 Bibles, 350 New Testaments, prayer books and religious tracts presumably thought particularly appropriate for a penal colony. These are itemized more thoroughly under the heading "A First Fleet Library", and were provided by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Thus, although Johnson's own tract of 1792 is clearly the first book written for an Australian audience, scattered beyond reach of a single pulpit by that time, it is not the first book circulated in Australia, as is sometimes claimed.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge continued to send books to Australia for many years. Emigrant ships in the 1840s and 1850s often carried a small library and had a Society-sponsored teacher on board, whose task it was to teach emigrants reading and writing. At the end of the voyage the library would be divided up amongst the emigrants.

**23** *Marshall, W. B.*      **A word of exhortation to a servant.**

Sydney: Printed by Stephens and Stokes, 1833.  
Lent by the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

Another tract, based on a homily delivered to a group of women convicts on their arrival in Sydney. Stealing could be forgiven if it was forced by absolute necessity, Marshall argued, but as servants in the new life that awaited them, with masters who would be responsible for all their bodily needs, it would no longer be necessary — an argument with a refreshing candour about it, albeit rather an optimistic one. "These then are your two positive duties, OBEDIENCE and WELL-PLEASING. The two negative obligations laid upon you, are quite as important, and these are: PURLOIN NOT — ANSWER NOT." The existence of these two tracts, Johnson's and Marshall's, is silent testimony to the literacy of a large portion of the population of New South Wales throughout the convict era. By 1838 it has been estimated that at least two-thirds of the white males and nearly half the white females in the colony could read.

**24**                              **New South Wales pocket almanack; and colonial remembrancer, for the year of our lord and saviour 1806.**

Sydney: Compiled and printed at Government Press by G. Howe, [1806].

The second book printed in Australia, and the first almanac.

**25**                              **The Van Diemen's Land pocket almanack, for the year of our lord MDCCCXXIV.**

Hobart: Compiled and printed by Andrew Bent, 1824.

The first Tasmanian almanac. The first books printed in Australia were severely practical, for a very straightforward reason. For most of the nineteenth century printing in Australia cost up to twice as much as sending the manuscript to Britain, and could only be contemplated if other factors countered the extra expense. This remained the case for a long time, and is one reason why literary publishing in Australia was so restricted, and so closely related to newspaper publishing, until the end of the nineteenth century. When Johnson sent his *Address to the inhabitants of the colonies* to London to be printed he was doing so for sound economic

reasons, as well as gaining access to far better printing technology than was available to him in Sydney. These are not the main reason why writers such as Watkin Tench sent their manuscripts to London, it should be remembered, for they were writing for a British audience anyway.

In the case of the almanacs (for this was the beginning of a long tradition of such books) the countervailing factor to expense and limited technology was the immediate need for the information they contained, both official and practical. The almanacs were an essential tool for any person having business with government, and were one of the first media for the pooling of information about the climate and agricultural techniques adapted to the new environment. In their record of the anniversaries of life in the northern hemisphere they kept alive traditions that were no longer reinforced by the seasons, as well as memories of events that were part of the history of the old countries. Slowly, through the nineteenth century, they came to contain Australian themes and dates of relevance to Australian history.

**26**                              **Proclamation. The public peace being happily, and . . . permanently established, I hereby proclaim the cessation of martial law.**

[Sydney: Government Press, 1808].

An announcement of Australia's first military coup, dated 27 January 1808. The day before, Lieutenant-Colonel George Johnston had arrested Governor Bligh. Only two copies are known to survive of this flimsy testimony to Johnston's administration, the product of the desperate years of quarrel and autocracy under Governors King and Bligh. This broadside is by no means the earliest known example of printing in Australia — that is the *Instructions for constables of the country districts*, a broadside printed in 1796 by George Hughes, of which only one copy is known — but as the public statement made by the coup leader in 1808, setting out his objectives and motives, it is of pre-eminent importance, and is a vivid example of the role of print in the colony. A facsimile of this proclamation has been published by the National Library, in 1988.

**27** *Robinson, Michael*      **Ode for the King's birthday, Massey, 1811.**

1747–1826.

[Sydney: George Howe, 1811].

Michael Robinson's odes were the first Australian verses to be published individually. Robinson was a blackmailer and a forger with an Oxford education, who was transported in 1798. He was given a conditional pardon on the journey out, and worked as a clerk in Sydney, but was twice sentenced to spells on Norfolk Island. In this ode, published on 4 June 1811, he contrasts:



wrote. He mentions one of the most intriguing lost books of Australia: a journal of dreams kept by Howe until just before his death, written in kangaroo blood on kangaroo skin, recording dreams about the Aborigines and his sister, and with long lists of the seeds he planned to plant.

The book was sold for five shillings, a high price which further demonstrates the extra costs involved with publishing in Australia. Andrew Bent, the printer, arrived in Hobart from Sydney in 1812, having been sentenced to transportation for life in London in 1810. He helped Andrew Clark print his second newspaper, the *Van Diemen's Land Gazette*, and after Clark was dismissed became himself printer to the government. *Michael Howe* is an elegant, well-printed book, as were his other publications. In 1824 Bent came into conflict with the newly-arrived Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, after the *Gazette* had printed several severe criticisms of his administration. Arthur ousted Bent as Government Printer, and set up a rival *Hobart Town Gazette*, printed by George Terry Howe, a son of George Howe of Sydney. Bent was charged with libel, fined and imprisoned.

This is the only known copy of *Michael Howe* in Australia, one of only three copies known to exist.

- 31 *Slater, John.* A description of Sydney, Parramatta, Newcastle, &c., settlements in New South Wales, with some account of the manners and employment of the convicts.

[Nottingham, Nottinghamshire]: Printed by Sutton and Son, 1819.

Another report by a convict, with his experience of life in New South Wales in the age of Macquarie. Slater's letter to his wife in Nottingham was published "for the benefit of his wife and four children". They planned, if enough money was raised, to join him in Australia. Only a few copies exist of this chapbook, three discovered at the same time in one Nottingham library. Yet comparison of the two copies in the National Library shows that the print run was probably quite large, as the type is very worn in one and fresh in the other. A facsimile of this rare convict account will be published by the National Library in 1988.

- 32 *Wentworth, W.C. (William Charles), 1790-1872.* A statistical, historical, and political description of the colony of New South Wales and its dependent settlements in Van Diemen's Land.

London: Printed for G. and W.B. Whittaker, 1819.

The first published work by an Australian-born author. Written to encourage emigration to Australia, the book also demanded free institutions in the colony. It is the beginning of the whole genre of books written to urge intending migrants to choose Australia over the alternatives, which were mostly cheaper to get to, and which include some

of the first manifestoes of Australian patriotism. Wentworth's mother was a convict, and his father (who did not migrate entirely of his volition) was a leading figure amongst the "Emancipists", convicts whose term had expired or who had been pardoned and who now sought political and social equality. Wentworth was educated in England, and after his return to Australia successfully found a route through the Blue Mountains, with Blaxland and Lawson, the first time this had been done by any of the colonists.

In 1824 he founded the first independent newspaper, the *Australian*, in which he campaigned for freedom of the press. Although later in his life he became a spokesman for conservatism, as late as 1852 he still fiercely demanded self-government for New South Wales. In 1819 he drew on his experience of the wild Blue Mountains country to ask if Australia should rebel against England and "if the colonists should prudently abandon the defence of the sea-coast, and remove with their flocks and herds into the fertile country behind these impregnable passes, what would the force of England, gigantic as it is, profit her?"

- 33 *Lang, John Dunmore, 1799-1878.* An historical and statistical account of New South Wales, both as a penal settlement and as a British colony.

London: Cochrane and M'Crone, 1834.

An attack on the emancipists, among others, by Wentworth's great rival. This was Lang's most important work. While he shared Wentworth's aim to encourage migration and the advance of self-government, Lang wanted actual independence for Australia. He was a Presbyterian minister who arrived in the colony in 1823. A man of enormous energy, "he pushed his way to power at once", in H. M. Green's words, "a great wave of popularity and dissension foaming at his bows and leaving a wide wake behind him." Autocratic as he was, he was in outlook and temperament a democrat where Wentworth was aristocratic. He became one of the great forces in the colony in morals, politics, emigration, education and journalism.

- 34 *Jeffreys, C.* *Van Diemen's Land.* London: J.M Richardson, 1820.

The first emigrant guide to Tasmania, and the first separate description of Tasmania. The author promised his advice would lead to "every comfort which the smaller class of farmers enjoy in the mother country, with a superiority over them, in the clearer prospect he will have, of future comfort for his children".

Jeffreys stole the manuscript from George Evans, who was Surveyor of Van Diemen's Land, when he was a passenger on the vessel Jeffreys commanded. Evans' version, which was a much better book, was published in 1822.

- 35 *Curr, Edward.* An account of the colony of Van Diemen's Land . . . for the use of emigrants.

London: George Cowie, 1824.

The first emigrant guide written by a real emigrant. Curr arrived in Tasmania in 1820, and after 1825 was the chief agent for the Van Diemen's Land Company. As such he was closely connected with the Company's schemes for settlement and tenancy.

- 36 *The farmers, or, Tales for the times: addressed to the yeomanry of England by the author.*

London: C. & J. Rivington, 1823.

The folly of emigration to America contrasted with the promise of Tasmania. Three stories of differing responses to hard times in England, by an anonymous writer. In the first, a tenant farmer and his family go to Illinois, where they find ruin and death. Second, a well-to-do farming family survives recession by discarding fashion and foreign fripperies. Last, almost an entire village uproots itself and finds independence and prosperity in Van Diemen's Land, after a long period of neglect by the aristocratic landowner. Ferguson called this "the first short story relating to Australia written 'with a purpose'".

The tradition that began with these books has continued for most of Australia's subsequent history. Books claiming an inevitable future of prosperity and happiness for those who uprooted themselves and moved to Australia played an important part in creating both literary and general perceptions of the new country, creating expectations on the part of newcomers which may not have been met but which gained a life of their own. Often, as in the case of Curr, these books were produced by people with vested interests in continuing migration: this was to be particularly the case in relation to emigration to South Australia in the 1830s, after the formation of the South Australian Land Company. The glowing emigrants' literature played its part in changing general perceptions of Australia in the early years of the nineteenth century. After a period in which the rigors of the landscape and the horrors of transportation were most prominent, a period began in which there appeared to be every prospect of comfort and prosperity in a colony that increasingly attracted free immigration. So attractive did the idea of escape from English and Irish poverty become that cheap texts dwelling on the agonies of Port Arthur, Moreton Bay and the other black holes of convict life were deliberately produced and widely circulated to discourage the view that transportation could mean cheap passage to a promised land.

- 37 *Benson, George.* The horrors of transportation.

Bristol: G. Benson, 1843. Reprinted by P. Gardner, Brighton, [Sussex, n.d.].

A grim warning that conditions in Australia were much worse than they were usually painted, and that transportation should be avoided at all costs. Ostensibly this little chapbook is the work of a young man who fell among thieves, and who was transported for burglary in 1828. It borrows its title from William Ullathorne's more substantial pamphlet of 1838, written at the request of the Under-Secretary for Ireland and paid for by the Irish Government, in order to convince people that convicts were slaves, not equal to free emigrants in any respect. Ullathorne was a major leader of the early Roman Catholic Church in Australia, whose evidence also contributed to the ending of the system of transportation. The Benson account is likely to be fictional: there is little said of his experiences, and much general information, probably abstracted from reports by other authors. Just as there had been in the years of the First Fleet, there was in the British Isles in the mid-years of the nineteenth century a great market for news about Australia, partly met by the publication of ephemeral, often plagiarized, broadsheets and chapbooks.

- 38 *Lingard, Joseph.* A narrative of the journey to and from New South Wales.

Chapel-en-le-Frith: J. Taylor Printer, [1846?].

Seven years in Australia, much of it around Goulburn, New South Wales. Lingard was transported in 1835. He could not read or write, and this little booklet has all the full-paced immediacy of dictated oral testimony. Lingard's experience of Australia was not all bad, and he had masters who treated him well, but he yearned to return to his family in England. He laments on his final page "But though Old England — lovely spot — I dearly wish'd to see; Alas! deserted was my cot, I found no home for me!"

- 39 *Turner, Nathaniel.* First lessons in the language of Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands.

Sydney: [R. Howe, Government Printer], 1828.

A reminder that the settlement at Port Jackson came about partly because of its strategic position in the Pacific. Soon after the foundation of the colony, it had become the launching pad for further British activity in the Pacific. Written by a Wesleyan missionary, this is the first book printed in the Tongan language. Robert Howe had by now taken over from his father, after the latter's death in 1821.

- 40 *Savery, Henry.* The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land.

Hobart Town: Andrew Bent, 1829.

Only five copies exist of the first collection of essays published in Australia.

- 41 *Savery, Henry,*                    **Quintus Servinton.**  
1791-1842.  
Hobart: Henry Melville, Printer, 1830.

The first novel printed in Australia. Savery was a Bristol merchant transported in 1825 for fraudulent insolvency and forgery. The novel is to some extent autobiographical, and Servinton too is transported to Van Diemen's Land, but there is little solid Australian content: the tale is one of reversed fortunes weathered by a man of good breeding, who learns eventually not to rebel against his fate. Most surviving copies have a London imprint (Smith, Elder, 1832) added to the Hobart title page, and it was possibly primarily intended for sale in Britain.

The attribution of the *Hermit in Van Diemen's Land* to Savery was once thought to be not absolutely certain. It was dictated in prison to Thomas Wells, the author of *Michael Howe* (30). It is not known who paid for publication. The sketches it contains were first published in Andrew Bent's *Colonial Times*, and Elizabeth Webby speculates that Bent may have borne the cost of printing himself, knowing that satire of local figures would sell well. It was certainly Bent who was fined for libel as a result of publication. *Quintus Servinton* was printed by Henry Melville, who had taken over the *Colonial Times* by then. He may have printed the book as a service to Savery, who was working as his editor at the time.

- 42 *Emigrant of 1821.*            **Party politics exposed.**  
Sydney: Printed by Anne Howe, 1834.

A rare pamphlet, protesting against inhumanities practised upon assigned convict servants. It may have been written by William Watt, a ticket-of-leave holder who was editor of the *Sydney Gazette*. Anne Howe was the widow of Robert Howe, who had drowned in 1829 after inheriting his father's business in 1821. She was Australian-born, and perhaps was less inclined automatically to support the government than her predecessors had been. She managed the printery until 1835, and as owner of the *Sydney Gazette* was Australia's first woman newspaper proprietor.

- 43 *Maconochie, Alexander,*        **Thoughts on convict management.**  
1787-1860.  
Hobart Town: Printed by J.C. Macdougall, 1838.

Crime would not be prevented by fear and degradation, but a reformed system of transportation should be preserved, Maconochie argued. He went to Van Diemen's Land as Lieutenant-Governor Franklin's private secretary in 1836, and prepared a report on the state of prison discipline at the request of the English Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, which was also published in 1838, in London. From 1840 to 1844 Maconochie was superintendent of the penal settlement at Norfolk Island, where he implemented principles which

are at the basis of much of modern penology. He believed that cruelty debased both the victim and the society that inflicted it, and that punishment should not be vindictive, but should encourage a prisoner to accept social constraints. Criminals should be imprisoned not for a particular length of time, but for whatever period was necessary for them to achieve set tasks. Above all, convicts should not be deprived of self-respect.

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems likely that Maconochie paid for the publication of this substantial book. There was great hostility to his views in Hobart, and he was dismissed by Franklin.

- 44 [*Anley, Charlotte,*            **The prisoners of Australia.**  
1796?-1893.]  
London: J. Hatchard, 1841.

An account of the state of female prisoners in New South Wales. Mostly deeply disapproving in tone, the author for a fleeting moment warms to a woman at the Female Factory who refused to name her helpers in an escape attempt.

- 45 *Morgan, John,*                    **The life and adventures of William Buckley.**  
1792-1866.  
Hobart: A. MacDougall, 1852.

The biography of an escaped convict, who spent thirty-two years with the Aborigines on the coast of southern Victoria. William Buckley (1780-1856) was a soldier who was convicted for receiving stolen property in 1802. In 1803 he escaped from Collins' party at Port Phillip, and was accepted by Aborigines of the Watourong group, who fed him and taught him their language. In 1835 he gave himself up, and was for a short time employed by John Batman as an interpreter, soon after Batman's later-repudiated treaty with the Aborigines at Port Phillip. Batman claimed this had secured title to 600,000 acres [242,811 ha], paid for by a continuous tribute. Buckley's view was that land could not be bought from the Aborigines, whatever a few so-called chiefs signed: the whole thing was "another hoax of the white man".

- 46 *Tucker, James,*                    **Ralph Rashleigh.**  
c.1803-1866.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1952.  
No. 2 of a de luxe edition of 50 copies.

The only significant novel by a convict. First published in 1929, when it was thought to be autobiographical, the likely identity of the author was established by Colin Roderick, who edited this edition. Tucker was transported to Sydney for extortion in 1827, and at various times was granted and then lost his ticket-of-leave. He wrote plays and stories, and gave some of his manuscripts to an overseer he was friendly with, through whose family they survived.

Like Buckley, Ralph Rashleigh spends some years with the Aborigines, but despises and fears them and later, after being pardoned, is killed by them. His sufferings under an evil, corrupt and wasteful system of punishment are described graphically but without any sentimentality. There are many villains in the book, and a few good men and women, who sometimes manage to survive violence and evil by sheer endurance. It is a tale, above all, of coping with exile.

- 47 *Huber, Therese,                   Adventures on a journey to*  
 1764–1829.                   *New Holland.*  
 Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1966.

Letters from a fleeing French revolutionary, seeking "security and peace in a pure and youthful land where Nature shall redeem the dregs of degenerate race": the first novel wholly set in Australia, first published in Germany in 1801. Therese Huber was a member of the circle which laid the foundations of German Romantic literature. Although she later had a great influence on German literary and cultural life, as editor of the widely-read Stuttgart newspaper *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, and as the author of sixty novels and stories, this (her first novel) was not particularly memorable. The possibilities of her Australian background are not well explored, and the novel is as much a study of the consequences of the French revolution as it is of the life of the convict settlement of Australia.

At the time of writing Huber was still married to Georg Forster (1754–1794), one of the leaders of the German Jacobins, who had travelled with his father on Cook's second voyage around the world (1772–1775). Although Huber and Forster had separated by then, she had lived with him while he wrote an important essay on plans for the penal settlement at Botany Bay, published in 1787 in Berlin, and she had probably read the German editions of the key First Fleet journals, translated, edited and annotated by Forster's father Johann — Phillip, White and Hunter, published in Berlin in 1790, 1791 and 1794. With this novel, as Leslie Bodi put it in the introduction to the first English translation of an untowardly neglected text, Huber "brings together the world of the highly speculative, soul-searching German burgher of the great age of Classicism and the world of active participants of the French Revolution — confronting both with the experiment of colonizing the vast continent of Australia with the help of convicted criminals".

# THE ABORIGINES

*I give you this story.  
This proper, true story.  
People can listen.  
I'm telling you this while you've got  
time . . .  
time for you to make something,  
you know . . .  
history . . .  
book*

Bill Neidjie, *Kakadu man* (1985).

**T**HE STRENGTH of Aboriginal culture rests on media other than the book: on oral tradition, painting, dance and music, and lately on film, television, radio, cassettes and community newspapers. Yet books have become part of this web of survival: books by whites, beginning in the 1820s with small pamphlets written to advance a cause that could not wait for a manuscript to be shipped to Britain to be printed more cheaply there; and books by blacks, beginning in the 1920s with similarly fragile pamphlets seeking for the first time to render in print a version of Aboriginal culture written by a man avowedly of that culture.

Many of the books written today by Black Australians are manifestoes, directed at black and white readers (sometimes separately and sometimes together), urging revolutionary changes in land title and social consciousness. They operate within the context of the regrouping of Aboriginal political strength and militancy that has taken place since 1945, and are vital documents for the understanding of twentieth-century Australia. Books by and about Black Australians appear throughout this exhibition: here are a few texts that represent, one way or another, something of the black side of the struggle that began in 1788.

## Black voices

- 48 *Unaipon, David.* Native legends.  
1871-1967.  
Adelaide: Hunkin, Ellis & King, [1929?].

The first book by an Aboriginal Australian. David Unaipon's work to increase White Australian understanding of Aboriginal culture was of unique importance. He was greatly influenced by his mission education, and by the continuing support of the Aborigines' Friends' Association, which ran the

Point McLeay Mission in South Australia where he was born. He was however entirely his own man, as is clear from his correspondence with George Robertson in the Angus & Robertson archive, which shows Unaipon was actively collecting legends for possible publication by Angus & Robertson in 1925. Thirty manuscripts survive in the Mitchell Library; one legend was published in *The Home* in 1925 and five in *The Dawn* at various times; and one pamphlet at least preceded this booklet, *Kinie ger* (c.1926). Unaipon's autobiography, *My life* (c.1951) is surely the first such by a Black Australian. Adam Shoemaker has pointed out how difficult it is neatly to classify his fascinating and complex writing: no matter how restricted his audience, David Unaipon's work merits the closest attention.

- 49 *Noonuccal, Oodgeroo.* My people.  
1920-.  
Milton, Qld.: Jacaranda, 1970.

The first substantial collection by one of Australia's best-selling poets. With the publication of Oodgeroo Noonuccal's first book, *We are going* (1964), published when she was known as Kath Walker, there began a completely new phase in communication between peoples in Australia. For the first time the writings of a Black Australian who analyzed and judged White Australians as well as her own people were widely published and discussed, both in Australia and abroad.

Oodgeroo Noonuccal's direct and poignant poetry parallels and resonates with her political activism, just as *My people* is a collection of both poetry and prose writings and speeches. She was Queensland State Secretary of the Federal Council of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in the 1960s — the years of the Freedom rides, the gaining of the right to vote by Aborigines and the Gurindji strike at Wave Hill — and has been a prominent speaker for her people in the years since. In 1987 she changed her name to Oodgeroo Noonuccal, in protest against the Bicentenary and "against the cruelty of the English people . . . since they landed here 200 years ago. It was the public servants of the day who gave us their English names to make it easier to write them down on paper". Oodgeroo means "Paperbark", a name given to her by Pastor Don Brady. Noonuccal is the name of her Stradbroke Island people.

Oodgeroo Noonuccal was born on Stradbroke Island in Moreton Bay, off the coast of Queensland, where she now lives again. Her childhood there is

described in *Stradbroke dreamtime* (1972). She moved to Brisbane when she was twenty-one and was in the Australian Women's Army Service from 1941 to 1944, an experience she has described as "one of the very few places you never experienced racism because you were all just a number". She was one of many Black Australians whose service in the armed forces was a turning point, an experience of comparative equality that altered the expectations of many people. Other Black Australians who were not soldiers gained a taste of similar change, when they became trade union members during the labour shortages of the 1939-1945 war.

- 50 *Roughsey, Dick.* **Moon and rainbow.**  
Sydney: Reed, 1971.

Life was hard on Mornington Island and on the cattle stations of the north for people such as the artist Dick Roughsey. This is his autobiography.

- 51 **Aboriginal children's history of Australia.**  
Adelaide: Rigby in association with Island Heritage, 1977.

The past told and drawn by 136 children. The strength of a continuing oral tradition can be seen in accounts which span The Dreaming, contact with the Macassans, the Whitefellas and the present. "This is our land. It goes back, a long way back, into the Dreamtime, into the land of our Dreaming. We made our camp here, and now all that is left of our presence are the ashes and the bones of the dead animals the young men had killed. Soon even our footprints will be carried away by the wind."

- 52 *Mirritji, Jack.* **My people's life.**  
193?-  
Milingimbi: Milingimbi Literature Centre, 1978.

Stories of life in Arnhem land at a time when there was hardly any contact with White Australians. Jack Mirritji was born at Japirdijapin in northeast Arnhem Land, near the mission settlement at Milingimbi. At about the age of fifteen he walked 480 km to Darwin, where he taught himself to speak, read and write English. He wrote most of these stories in the 1960s. "I am a full-blooded Aboriginal who came from fore-fathers living in tribal villages in the bush, but who thinks differently from them — a new breed", he writes.

- 53 *Thomas, Guboo Ted.* **Mumbulla spiritual contact.**  
[Narooma, NSW: G. Thomas, 1980].  
Lent by Anthony Ketley.

A statement by the Yuin people of the New South Wales South Coast, on the spiritual importance of Mumbulla mountain, threatened by logging. The book grew out of a meeting between them and archaeologists from the Australian National Uni-

versity, and accompanied a touring exhibition, featuring its powerful photographs. "Darama gave the Law to his people in the Dreamtime. Now the elders guard it and hand it on. This is why they take the yong men up the Mountain. The Law comes from the Mountain."

- 54 **After the tent embassy.**  
[Sydney]: Valadon Publishing, 1983.

A photographic essay on the cultural and political aspirations of the Aboriginal people today: "a book for Aboriginal people in all parts of Australia, for black people, to tell them what's been happening in the past and where it started . . . and also for the white people, so that they can know who we are and what we are — the first people in Australia, who lived here before the white settlers arrived and muddled up everything".

Marcia Langton, author of the text and editor of the collection of photographs, is an Aboriginal anthropologist who has been actively involved in the land rights campaign.

- 55 *Kerinaiaua, Magdelan.* **Tiwi pirriwinipini arrijarrijuwi.**  
Nguiu: Nguiu Ngingingawila Literature Production Centre, 1984.

A reader in the Tiwi language, about a fight between Tiwi men and Larrakia men. The distinctive art of the Tiwi people has encompassed silk-screen printing, as can be seen from the vivid illustrations in this and other works from Bathurst Island.

- 56 *McKellar, Hazel.* **Matya-mundu.**  
1930-  
Cunnamulla: Cunnamulla Australian Native Welfare Association, 1984.

A history of the Aboriginal people of southwest Queensland, published by an independent Aboriginal community organization. Hazel McKellar is a descendant of the Koom tribe, a founding member of the Cunnamulla Australian Native Welfare Association and of the South West Queensland Aboriginal Cooperative Society. "In our multi-cultural society, children need to be able to identify with their past", she writes, "to know where they have come from. This book is to help the present generation, and generations to come, to see and know there is much to be proud of."

- 57 *Neidjie, Bill.* **Kakadu man — Bill Neidjie.**  
1913-  
[Queanbeyan]: Mybrood, 1985.

"This ground and this earth . . . like brother and mother." This combination of words and photographs from the East Alligator Region of what is now the Kakadu National Park is an attempt to convey to all people something of the wisdom which

one Aboriginal man has inherited from 2,000 or more generations of his ancestors. "We got to hang on, not to lose our story," Bill Neidjie says. "You look where timber. Gone, pulled out. Bulldozer rip it out. Well, you feel it in your body."

Allan Fox, the photographer, published *Kakadu man* after it was rejected by commercial publishers. More than 45,000 copies have since been sold, including 20,000 in the United States.

**58** *Willmot, Eric.* **Pemulwuy, the rainbow warrior.**

McMahon's Point, NSW: Weldons, 1987.

Pemulwuy was a leader of the Eora people, who fought against the first British occupation of the land around Sydney. His name appears in various forms in the journals and documents of the early years of white settlement at Sydney, but his long and courageous struggle against the invaders has been suppressed from most subsequent published accounts. Willmot's historical novel is an attempt to put an Aboriginal legend centre stage, and to add something to the legend. "The legend is about a simple heroic patriot", the author has said, "but the history is about an extraordinary mystical man".

Pemulwuy was finally captured and killed in 1802, but armed resistance in the Sydney region continued until at least 1816, and another warrior of the time, known to whites as Mosquito, was eventually to resume his war as a guerrilla leader in Tasmania from 1819 to 1825.

**59** *Morgan, Sally.* **My place.**

1951-

Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1987.

Scarred by the experience of being taken from her family and sent to an orphanage, Sally Morgan's mother for many years denied her Aboriginality. This is the story of a whole family that found its people again, and in particular of three women: Sally Morgan herself, her mother, Gladys Corunna, and her grandmother, Daisy Corunna. Their experience has been a common one in the twentieth century, as assimilation programs forcibly separated people thought to be of white ancestry from their Aboriginal families. The book has been another best-seller for Fremantle Arts Centre Press, and was reprinted four times in 1987, selling just short of 35,000 copies by the end of that year.

## White responses

**60** *Threlkeld, L.E.* **Specimens of a dialect, of the Aborigines of New South Wales.**

1788-1859.

Sydney: Printed at the *Monitor* Office by Arthur Hill, [1827].

This extremely rare pamphlet is the first work devoted to any Aboriginal language. Threlkeld

established a mission to the Aborigines at Lake Macquarie in 1825 which continued to exist in one form or another until 1841, despite conflict with Samuel Marsden and John Dunmore Lang. His understanding of the local language owed much to the aid of an Aboriginal leader, who spoke fluent English and who contributed greatly to Threlkeld's landmark linguistic publications. Shortage of type meant that it could only be printed four pages at a time, a long and tedious business. It cost just over £32 to print and bind 273 copies: publishing in Australia was an expensive business, perhaps twice as expensive as in England. In this instance one of the considerations that affected the decision of where to print may have been the importance of being able to proof-read in Australia, rather than relying on English compositors: the vocabulary of an unfamiliar language would be a difficult task, benefiting from close supervision. Mostly however Australian authors were to be at the mercy of overseas typesetters for the next hundred years, with only rare opportunities to proof-read their own work.

**61** *Australian Aborigines' Protection Society.* **The Australian Aborigines' Protection Society: instituted 1838.**

Sydney: Printed by James Spilsbury, 1838.

The London-based Aborigines Protection Society and similar philanthropic organizations in England were turned to by many colonists from the 1820s on. Despairing at what they saw around them, they sought intercession with the politicians and civil servants of Whitehall and, as the frontier moved away from the cities, formed similar societies themselves. English opinion would surely respond to "the piteous cry of their Australian brethren's blood", they hoped.

Henry Reynolds has showed that this misplaced faith in the power of English public opinion lasted until the 1930s. Indeed, international opinion, particularly that of the third and fourth worlds, is still a powerful factor in the politics of race relations in Australia. Although ultimately to little avail, the issue of Aboriginal land rights was debated in white society from the 1820s to the 1850s, both in Australia and in England. In the 1830s prior Aboriginal ownership of the land was part of official doctrine in New South Wales, and an understanding of traditional landholding was given widespread lip-service in the white community. By the turn of the century the contrary was the case. The first land rights movement, as Reynolds has labelled it, was defeated both in the countryside, where the dispossession and massacre of blacks was followed by moves to greatly reduce reserves won by earlier black action, and in the cities, where a belief that Australia was an empty wasteland, *terra nullius*, had conveniently replaced the earlier official recognition that there was Aboriginal sovereignty over the whole of Australia in 1788. It was not until the 1930s that widespread organization among White

Australians concerned with the continuing assault on Aboriginal life and culture began again.

The Aborigines' Protection Society formed at Sydney in 1838 was the first White Australian organization created to take up this long struggle.

- 62** *Melville, Henry,*                      **The history of the island of  
1799-1873.**                              **Van Diemen's Land.**  
London: Smith and Elder, 1835.

Henry Melville's attack on Lieutenant-Governor Arthur's administration of Van Diemen's Land, and on his Aboriginal policy, was printed by him in Hobart, smuggled on board a ship and published in London. In 1830 Arthur attempted to drive the Aboriginal people of Tasmania from the districts settled by whites into Tasman's Peninsula. Although the plan was a complete failure, it forecast the policy that was to destroy much of the Aboriginal population on Flinders Island.

Melville finished writing the book in gaol, after being sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and being fined for his criticism of Arthur's administration in the newspaper he printed and published, the *Colonial Times*. He had earlier published *Quintus Servinton* (41), the first Australian novel. Melville accused Arthur of total hypocrisy in his contradictory policy and practice, asking whether his policy was one of conciliation by execution. His account of the crisis in relations between black and white was developed as an integral theme of his narrative, a rarity amongst historians. The British had fought a long war for the island, he argued — a long war, and an evil one.

- 63** *Moore, George  
Fletcher.*                              **A descriptive vocabulary of  
the language in common use  
amongst the Aborigines of  
Western Australia.**  
London: Wm S. Orr, 1842.

An unwitting document of the first land rights movement. Moore, who was Advocate-General of Western Australia from 1834 to 1852, defines the word "kallabudjar" as meaning the ownership of property in land. With this recognition of Aboriginal land ownership necessarily goes demolition of the whole concept of waste land, unoccupied by human beings who were "not so much inhabitants of Australia as part of its fauna", to quote the contemptuous words of the historian Arthur Jose in 1932. Moore was an Irish lawyer who settled in Western Australia in 1830. He was a considerable landowner himself, holding title to 24,000 acres [9712 ha] by 1884.

- 64.** *Backhouse, James,*                      **A narrative of a visit to the  
1794-1869.**                              **Australian colonies.**  
London: Hamilton, Adams, 1843.

The expropriation of Aboriginal land was only one of the themes explored in this important Quaker work, by one of the founders of the Religious Soci-

ety of Friends in Australia. Backhouse went to Australia in 1831, "travelling under concern" for the welfare of people in the convict colonies. He journeyed over much of the country on foot between 1832 and 1838, and with his companion George Walker wrote valuable reports on penal reform and Aboriginal welfare. They also helped to establish Aborigines protection committees in Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth. Backhouse believed that Australian colonization generally had been "based upon principles that cannot be too strongly reprobated and which want radical reformation". The blacks had seen "wholesale robbery of territory committed upon them", he wrote in 1834.

- 65** *Dredge, James.*                      **Brief notices on the  
Aborigines of New South  
Wales.**  
Geelong: Printed by James Harrison, 1845.

Dredge was one of the first Protectors of Aborigines appointed to the new colony. Deeply disillusioned with the Protectorate, and convinced that racist ideas had become current for openly calculated reasons of gain, he resigned and wrote this book "for the purpose of exciting increased attention to their [the Aborigines'] claims on the part of the Government and the Public".

- 66** *Nathan, Isaac,*                      **The southern euphrosyne  
1792-1864.**                              **and Australian miscellany.**  
London: Whittaker, [1849].

Described as "one of the most unusual characters to arrive in nineteenth century Sydney", Isaac Nathan was a pioneer in recording Aboriginal music in printed form, although he did not collect his material himself. He also wrote the first opera wholly composed and produced in Australia.

- 67** *Salvado, Rosendo,*                      **Memorie storiche  
1814-1900.**                              **dell'Australia.**  
Roma: S. Congreg. de Propaganda Fide, 1851.

Salvado was one of the heroic missionaries of the nineteenth century, at first travelling with a group of Aborigines and then settling at New Norcia in Western Australia, where he and his compatriots founded a mission. Although this of necessity involved the destruction of many of the traditions of Aboriginal life, he was a sympathetic and reasonably well-informed observer of the Aborigines. Few missions were as well managed as that at New Norcia, which offered at least partial sanctuary in the midst of the holocaust of the nineteenth century. The book was quickly translated into Spanish and French, but an English translation did not appear until 1977.

- 68** *Millett, Edward,  
Mrs.*                                      **An Australian parsonage;  
or, The settler and the  
savage in Western Australia.**  
London: E. Stanford, 1872.

Mrs Millett came to Australia with her husband, an Anglican priest. Her book is valuable for its account of domestic life in the colony, and for her outspoken defence of the Aborigines. "Europeans . . . have no reason to feel ashamed of owning affinity with the savages of Australia West", she wrote, and she drew on Bishop Salvado to demonstrate that concepts of land ownership were central to Aboriginal life.

- 69 *Dawson, James.* **Australian Aborigines.**  
1806-1900.  
Melbourne: George Robertson, 1881.

Dawson was another advocate of black/white equality. "Each family has the exclusive right by inheritance to a part of the tribal lands, which is named after its owner", he pointed out. He was a pioneer of the Western District of Victoria, who was responsible for the erection of an obelisk in memory of the Aborigines of the area. He indignantly reported refusals to contribute to its expense, which were sometimes even accompanied by religious advice "from men holding Magnificent Estates from which the Aborigines were expelled and massacred wholesale".

- 70 *Vogan, A.J.* **The black police: a story of modern Australia.**  
London: Hutchinson, [1890?].

"Unless, as a people, the colonists recognize a duty in the matter, for all these things shall a future reckoning be made." So warned G.W. Rusden in 1883, writing of the atrocities suffered by Aborigines in Queensland. "I consider the mere fact of an educated, civilized man being able to continue to act the part of wholesale exterminator of human beings, at so much a month, is a *prima facie* sign of insanity", argues one of Vogan's characters, in this graphic novel of terror and rape during the settlement of Queensland. Outwardly a conventional tale of cleancut young English heroism versus Australian brutality, Vogan's use of the example of New Zealand's better record indicates that he did not consider racism inevitable in the colonies. He was to be driven from his profession as a journalist in Queensland because of his unpopular opinions.

- 71 *[Bible. N.T. Diyari.* **Testamenta marra: Jesuni Christuni ngantjani jaura ninaia karitjimalkana wonti Dieri jaurani.**  
1897].  
Tanunda, S. Aust.: G. Auricht, 1897.

As well as being the first translation of the New Testament into an Aboriginal language, this is probably the first substantial book of any sort in an Aboriginal language. It was translated by two Lutheran missionaries, J.G. Reuther and C. Strehlow, and is in the Diyari language. In 1879 a predecessor at Lake Killalpaninna (near Lake Eyre, in

South Australia), Pastor Flierl, produced a catechism and a Bible history in Diyari. Later, Reuther published a four-volume dictionary and grammar, based on several languages used at the mission. Philip Jones and Peter Sutton have suggested that "these initiatives, together with the missionaries' readiness to use spoken Diyari, contributed to a rare phenomenon — the beginnings of Aboriginal writing in nineteenth century Australia". As a result at least two generations of Diyari children grew up with a strong grasp of their own written language, which was used in letters and postcards as well as in reading these books.

- 72 *Spencer, Baldwin.* **The native tribes of Central Australia.**  
1860-1929.  
London: Macmillan, 1899.

Spencer was zoologist with the Horn expedition to Central Australia in 1884: there he met his co-author, F.J. Gillen (1856-1912). Gillen was the postmaster at Alice Springs and a Justice of the Peace, who had once brought to trial a Northern Territory policeman noted for his murderous raids on the Aborigines. The expeditions mounted by these two men represent the beginnings of modern anthropological fieldwork in Australia.

- 73 *Basedow, Herbert.* **The Australian Aboriginal.**  
1881-1933.  
Adelaide: Preece, 1925.

A useful though generalized account of Aboriginal life in the Northern Territory, by the then Chief Medical Officer and Chief Protector of Aborigines in the Northern Territory. The near extinction of many Aboriginal clans and languages has meant that the records and collections of men such as Reuther and Basedow are sometimes of crucial importance, however unsatisfactory they might be, as Aboriginal people work to recover their traditional culture. At the same time, modern anthropologists face a growing challenge from Aboriginal people not to act as agents of government and white society generally.

The year 1925 was a watershed in the development of Australian anthropology, in part because of the establishment of a Chair in the subject at Sydney University. Although this depended greatly on outside support (£30,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation), the publication of books such as Basedow's indicates a renewed acceptance within white society that the life and culture of the Aborigines could not be summed up in a few glib phrases. Whatever the demerits and sometimes dubious aims of early scientific anthropology, some of its practitioners were to be important allies in continued black resistance to white pressure, as the few gains won in the struggle for land in the nineteenth century were lost. Missions were closed and concentrated in the decades around the turn of the century, and increasing numbers of people not of full Abo-

iginal descent were taken from their families and forced into white society.

- 74 *Elkin, A.P. (Adolphus Peter), 1891-1979.* **Aboriginal men of high degree.**  
Sydney: Australasian Publishing, [1945].

Elkin's career as Australia's most eminent anthropologist and as one of the makers of twentieth-century paternalism produced several important books. *Aboriginal men of high degree* touches on the concern that first brought him to the defence of the Aborigines, and which enabled him to be an Anglican priest as well as a professional anthropologist. He discovered, in writing about Aboriginal religion in 1921, that "religion is an attitude and an experience, rather than an intellectual proposition. Dogma, doctrine, and myth come *after* the experience to describe or to explain or to rationalise it". Elkin accepted Aboriginal magic as real: without having the eyes to see such things himself, he accepted that his informants saw things in the Australian bush that were denied to nearly all whites, and he was fascinated by the healing powers of Aboriginal medicine.

- 75 *Rowley, C.D. (Charles Dunford), 1906-1985.* **The destruction of Aboriginal society.**  
Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1970.

Most Australian historians have either ignored the Aborigines and the violence that engulfed them after 1788, or they have treated Aboriginal history, before and after 1788, as a footnote to their accounts. Rowley went a long way towards redressing the balance with this and its two companion volumes, *Outcasts in white Australia* (1970) and *The remote Aborigines* (1971). In attempting to explain the contemporary social and economic situation of Australian Aborigines, he had to include an examination of past government policy and practice, given the absence of a comprehensive account from other sources. Whilst the concern of these books is largely with black response to white pressure, and they are not fully rounded histories of the Aboriginal experience, they are of landmark importance. Above all, they expose an underlying theme to practically all white policy: the endeavour to make the Aborigines dependent.

- 76 *Keneally, Thomas, 1935-.* **The chant of Jimmy Blacksmith.**  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1972.

A powerful interpretation by a White Australian of the war against certain whites fought by Jimmy Governor and his brother in New South Wales in 1900.

- 77 **The Australian Aboriginal heritage: an introduction through the arts.**  
Sydney: Australian Society for Education through the Arts in association with Ure Smith, 1973.

With books like this one, edited by R.M. Berndt, White Australians have learned something of Aboriginal life. The book was part of a multi-media kit, which included colour transparencies and gramophone records.

- 78 *Hallam, Sylvia J.* **Fire and hearth.**  
Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1975.

A study of Aboriginal usage and European usurpation in south-western Australia. Sylvia Hallam shows that "the progress of exploration and settlement had depended and continued to depend on indigenous knowledge, use and development of the country and its resources — 'native well', 'native path', clearance and vegetation patterns dependent on Aboriginal firing".

- 79 *Brandl, E.J. (Eric Joseph).* **Australian Aboriginal paintings in western and central Arnhem land.**  
Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1982.

"People in literate societies write about the events of their time and what they think of them. People in non- or pre-literate societies paint about it." Brandl establishes a sequence of styles in rock art in this book.

- 80 *Wright, Judith, 1915-.* **The cry for the dead.**  
Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1981.

- 81 *Wright, Judith, 1915-.* **We call for a treaty.**  
Sydney: Collins/Fontana, 1985.

Judith Wright is one Australian writer who has sought to see the past clearly and to act in the present, particularly with regard to a treaty between black and white. In *The cry for the dead* she has returned to the subject of the great pastoral migrations her family was part of, reinterpreting the diaries and other material that had been used in her *Generations of men* (1959), in a way made possible by the great advances in understanding of Australian history since the 1960s. Her cry for the dead is as much for the land, scarred by pastoralism, as for lost lives. In the end the squatters she writes of were unable to hold the land they won at such a terrible cost. Their descendants have gone, following the Wadja people they dispossessed, the latter dispersed by paternalist legislation that has scarcely altered since the nineteenth century. Today, "perhaps none of the descendants of the Wadja, if any remain, have seen the country that once was theirs."

# THE EXPLORERS

*The "earth" is our historian, the keeper of events and the bones of our forefathers.*

World Council of Indigenous Peoples.

**T**HE MEN WHO HAVE become icons of the history of white settlement in Australia, the explorers whose published journals are described below, were often the out-riders of white contact with Aborigines. Sometimes their books and manuscript records are all that survives of a written account of people who were usually bloodily dispossessed of their land by the pastoralists and adventurers who followed. Sometimes that process had already been begun by white settlers, in advance of official exploration. Recent historical work has brought into print something of the oral traditions that tell of these encounters, but in the intervening years the explorers' accounts of the land and its people have had a significant effect on the perception of both by White Australians. This is the facet of the history of exploration through which the books by the explorers are viewed. Mapping the country did not make the surveyors into Aborigines, as H.M. Green has observed. But with the first encounters with the interior of Australia, and the books that those encounters produced, the substitution of fact for fancy and the slow reconciliation of white conquerors and new lands began. For many Australians, the journeys of the explorers were epics, and men such as Burke and Wills the heroic martyrs of the building of a nation, often celebrated in literature and art. Whatever their demerits to a more critical age, these men can not be ignored.

- 82** *Oxley, John,* 1783-1828. **Journals of two expeditions into the interior of New South Wales, undertaken by order of the British government in the years 1817-18.**

London: John Murray, 1820.

A foundation work for Australian inland exploration, being the first detailed description of the New South Wales interior. Only 500 copies were printed of this handsome book, which contains a fine portrait of an Aborigine by Lewin and a superb coloured engraving of an Aboriginal grave — albeit in a very English-looking meadow. It records expeditions following the Lachlan and Macquarie Rivers, and is undoubtedly the chief book-making achievement of the Macquarie period.

- 83** *Blaxland, Gregory,* 1778-1853. **A journal of a tour of discovery across the Blue Mountains in New South Wales.**

London: B.J. Holdsworth, 1823.

The rare report of the discovery of a route through the Blue Mountains, long sought by the colonists of New South Wales. Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth succeeded in getting through this very difficult country in 1813, thanks to the help of their Aboriginal guides. The booklet is based on Blaxland's journal. Only nine complete copies of the first edition are known to exist.

- 84** **Geographical memoirs on New South Wales.**

London: John Murray, 1825.

A collection of various accounts, including Oxley on his finding of the Brisbane River. The book was edited by Barron Field, who in one sentence explains the distortion of landscape practised by several generations of artists working in Australia. "New South Wales is a perpetual flower-garden, but there is not a single scene in it of which a painter could make a landscape, without greatly disguising the true character of the trees."

- 85** [*Jorgenson, Jorgen,* 1780-1841.] **History of the origin, rise, and progress of the Van Diemen's Land Company.**

London: Robson, Blades, 1829.

One of the foundation books of Tasmanian exploration. It is largely an account of Jorgenson's own travels, and had been published in Andrew Bent's *Colonial Advocate and Tasmanian Monthly Review* the previous year. The *Australian dictionary of biography* (1967) describes Jorgenson simply as "adventurer". A Dane, he first visited Australia in 1801, probably sailed with Flinders and was present at the foundation of the first settlement on the Derwent in Van Diemen's Land. He left Australia in 1805, and in 1809 seized power for a short time in Iceland. In 1826 he arrived in Van Diemen's Land again, this time as a convict. The intervening years had contained much "ill fortune, opportunism and debauchery". He was given a ticket-of-leave in 1827, and soon afterwards was assigned to the Van Diemen's Land Co., for which he carried out exploring expeditions in the north and north-west. His journals of those explorations are extremely unreliable.

86 [Maslen, T.J.  
(Thomas J.)]

The friend of Australia, or,  
A plan for exploring the  
interior and for carrying on  
a survey of the whole  
continent of Australia.

London: Hurst, Chance, 1830.

An imaginative account of how to explore Australia, and of what the interior ought to contain. The anonymous author was a retired officer of the East India Company: the attribution to Maslen is not absolutely certain, but is very likely. Whoever he was, the author had never visited Australia: this book, as so many about Australia, was written at a library desk from other books, and with a healthy portion of enthusiastic imagination. Maslen's exploring parties were to travel in style, on camels, and would be made up of large parties of picked volunteers. The reality, as Oxley's journal shows, was that exploration depended greatly on assigned convict manpower.

"I feel as assured of the existence of a great river through that continent as if it had already been navigated", he wrote, including "The Great River, or the Desired Blessing" on his map. The book had a deeply serious purpose, being essentially a plea for British enterprise to explore and more fully understand a continent that should be wholly British. Settlement should be aimed at the creation of an aristocracy, rigidly defined by property, which would prevent republican revolution and, in a century or so, allow the establishment of Houses of Lords and Commons in Australia.

87

Journey of discovery to Port  
Phillip, New South Wales,  
by Messrs. W.H. Hovell and  
Hamilton Hume in 1824  
and 1825.

Sydney: [A. Hill], 1831.

88

Journey of discovery to Port  
Phillip, New South Wales.

2nd edition. Sydney: James Tegg, 1837.

The first book on Port Phillip to be printed in Australia. William Bland edited Hume and Hovell's journals, intending to publish in England. This never eventuated, and a second edition was printed in Sydney in 1837. A preliminary version was printed in Sydney in two stages, in 1825-1826 and either 1830 or 1831: the National Library's copy of the preface has Bland's corrections in his handwriting. A crossed-out portion explains the delay in printing as being due to paper shortages, which periodically crippled printing in New South Wales — although paper makers had set up in the Lachlan Swamp, to Sydney's east, from 1814, they failed within a decade, and paper-making did not recommence in Australia until the 1860s. Only a handful of copies survive, mostly incomplete.

Hume and Hovell's 1824 expedition meant to find a route to Western Port. Although this was not done — the party ended up at Corio Bay, to

the west — they encountered the Australian Alps, and discovered (as far as white settlement was concerned) the Tumut, Murray, Ovens and Goulburn Rivers, as well as much good pastoral land. The latter alone would have made the pamphlet much sought after: the reports of the explorers were essential intelligence for the men and women who followed them, spilling out across the continent with their herds.

89 Sturt, Charles,  
1795-1869.

Two expeditions into the  
interior of southern  
Australia, during the years  
1828, 1829, 1830, and  
1831.

London: Smith, Elder, 1833.

A book which helped revive interest in discovery and exploration, after it died away somewhat in the 1820s. The 1828 journey discovered the Darling River, and that of 1829 followed the Murrumbidgee into the Murray, and then traced the Murray to its mouth on the south coast, thereby solving the apparent mystery of the westward flowing rivers. "I embarked for New South Wales, with strong prejudices against it: I left it with strong feelings in its favour", wrote Sturt.

90

Journals of several  
expeditions made in  
Western Australia, during  
the years 1829, 1830, 1831  
and 1832.

London: J. Cross, 1833.

The earliest work relating to the inland exploration of Western Australia, with the reports of over twenty expeditions. It is scarce, and notable for its recording of frequent fires set by the Aborigines, now known to be a sophisticated pattern of fire farming. An hopeful poem praises the new colony in the West:

"no rent, tithes, not taxes, we here have to pay  
. . . Then we live without trouble or stealth, Sirs.

91 Wilson, Thomas  
Braidwood,  
1792-1843.

Narrative of a voyage round  
the world.

London: Printed for Sherwood, Gilbert & Piper, 1835.

An early account of the Coburg Peninsula and Melville Island. Wilson was Surgeon-Superintendent on several convict transports, and was twice wrecked in the Torres Strait on the return voyage to England: he and his companions sailed and rowed to Timor the second time. He settled in Australia in 1836, at Braidwood Farm in the Southern Highlands. His book advocates settlement in Australia rather than Canada, and deals extensively with the Aborigines he encountered, including Mokare of King George Sound, in Western Australia. Mokare's life has been brilliantly reconstructed in *Australians to 1788* (1987), the first volume of *Australians: a historical library*. At Braidwood Wilson

was noted for his humane treatment of convicts, whom he refused to have flogged, and for the large number of Aborigines who worked on his farm. They were not paid wages, but received the same rations as his convict servants.

- 92** *Lhotsky, John,*                      **A journey from Sydney to  
1795-1865?**                      **the Australian Alps.**  
Sydney: Sold by J. Innes, 1835.

A battered fragment of a frail work, which the author believed was the first "wherein it happens that Australia speaks for herself". Lhotsky was a naturalist, of Czechoslovakian descent and educated in Prague and Berlin. He came to Sydney in 1832, with a grant from the King of Bavaria to pursue botanical and zoological research in Australia and South America. With further assistance from the business community of Sydney (all his provisions were bought on credit, and his book was published in parts and sold to raise much-needed cash) he examined the Snowy River and proposed a future city at "Kembery". His version of a "song of the women of the Menero Tribe" predates Nathan's work on Aboriginal music by fourteen years.

- 93** *Lhotsky, John,*                      **Illustrations of the present  
1795-1865?**                      **state and future prospects  
of the colony of New South  
Wales.**

Sydney: Printed by W. Jones, 1835 [i.e. 1836].

An angry attack on the administration of the colony. It was first published in five parts, issued with his *New South Wales Literary, Political and Commercial Advertiser*, in covers illustrated by a very early lithograph.

- 94** *Mitchell, Thomas,*                      **Three expeditions into the  
1792-1855.**                      **interior of eastern  
Australia.**

London: T. & W. Boone, 1838.

Mitchell's report of his travels in the rich land of western Victoria, Australia Felix, and of two earlier journeys. There had been some conflict with Aborigines on the second expedition, in 1835. In 1836 Mitchell believed he had met the same group again, near Mount Dispersion on the Murray. He set up an ambush, and several Aborigines were killed in the fight that followed. Mitchell was obsessed with his own reputation and his search for glory, and came into conflict with many of his contemporaries.

- 95** *James, T. Horton*                      **Six months in South  
(Thomas Horton).**                      **Australia.**  
London: J. Cross, 1838.

Full instructions on how to enjoy the voyage out and on how best to show ladies the sunset! Although this is essentially a manual of advice to intending emigrants, with a monthly calendar of gardening

and agriculture, it includes accounts of several early private expeditions in South Australia. A mention of Eyre's 1838 journey from Port Phillip to Adelaide is of importance, as the first account thereof in book form.

- 96** *Bischoff, James,*                      **Sketch of the history of Van  
1776-1845.**                      **Diemen's Land.**  
London: John Richardson, 1832.

Printed for shareholders in the Van Diemen's Land Company. A number of very early accounts of the exploration of Tasmania are printed here, including the journey of Henry Hellyer in 1827. He found a cliff of slate on the Arthur River, and promptly engraved on a large slab the words: "Whoever is found stealing slate from this quarry, will be dealt with according to law". Apart from the inherent unlikelihood of anyone making off with large quantities of slate, the claim of ownership is revealing for its total self-assurance in the face of the wilderness. A number of Lieutenant-Governor Arthur's despatches are also reprinted here: not surprisingly, they tell of increasing Aboriginal hostility.

- 97** *Grey, George,*                      **Journals of two expeditions  
1812-1898.**                      **of discovery in north-west  
and western Australia,  
during the years 1837, 38,  
and 39.**

London: T. and W. Boone, 1841.

An engaging account of two accident-prone expeditions in 1837 and 1839, which epitomize a widespread ignorance of conditions in the north-west of Western Australia in the early years of the nineteenth century. Intended as an exercise in coastal exploration, supported by the vessels which had transported Grey, his men and their Timor ponies to the coast near Hanover Bay, the first expedition was also a reconnaissance in the continuing British search for a site for permanent settlement in north Australia. Grey set out on first landing to walk a considerable distance with just two pints of water, and very nearly lost his entire party straight away. His horses seem to have been almost unbroken, and he was attempting very difficult country in the middle of the wet season. The Aborigines were hostile, and Grey was himself eventually speared, although not fatally.

Grey's second expedition was as disastrous, finishing with a 300-mile [482 km] march to Perth with little food and water, after his boats were wrecked. Nonetheless, Grey's honest enthusiasm and the wealth of information these volumes contain on the countryside he crossed make these classic volumes of Australian literature, recording the first impressions of the Australian landscape of a man who was to be of considerable importance in the history of Australia. He later became Governor of South Australia, when his policies of compulsory assimilation of the Aborigines largely failed, Governor of New Zealand (twice), Governor of Cape

Colony, and was Prime Minister of New Zealand from 1877–1879.

- 98** *Hodgkinson, Clement.* **Australia, from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay.**  
London: T. and W. Boone, 1845.

A scarce report of the first extensive exploration of northern New South Wales since Oxley. The book's illustrations of Aborigines who looked like Ancient Greeks, fighting in classical formation, are representative of a view which reduced all body-types to a single formula. The "Noble Savage" view of the indigenous people encountered by Europeans in Australia and the Americas was not simply a projection of Rousseauian values upon cultures that were misunderstood as being simple and uncluttered: it was also a gross simplification of the varieties of human experience to a single stereotype. Later it was easily replaced by the stereotypes of degradation.

- 99** *Eyre, Edward John,* **Journals of expeditions of discovery into Central Australia, and overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound, in the years 1840–41.**  
London: T. and W. Boone, 1845.

Epic journeys, by a well-organized and thoroughly competent explorer. Eyre arrived in Sydney in 1833, and for a while had a sheep property near Queanbeyan, New South Wales. He gained experience of unknown country overlanding stock from Sydney to Adelaide, and after several attempts to find an overland route from Adelaide to the west was employed by an Adelaide committee to explore to the north of Adelaide. He and Wylie, an Aborigine from Western Australia, eventually reached Albany after concluding that further investigation of the deserts of the interior was fruitless, an incredible journey made without usable firearms for much of the time. Eyre discusses the Aborigines at length, concluding that they had not been guilty of aggression and had a powerful case to continue in ownership of their own land. In 1841 he was appointed resident magistrate and protector of Aborigines at Moorundie, on the River Murray, and was largely successful in preventing bloodshed between the Aborigines and Europeans. He unconsciously reveals the hidden agenda of protection in discussing that period: "up to the date of my leaving not a serious case of serious injury or aggression ever took place on the part of the Natives against the Europeans, whilst the district became rapidly and extensively occupied by Settlers and by Stock".

- 100** *Leichhardt, Ludwig,* **Journal of an overland expedition in Australia, from Moreton Bay to Port Essington.**  
London: T. and W. Boone, 1847.

- 101** *Leichhardt, Ludwig,* **Journal of Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt's overland expedition to Port Essington, in the years 1844–45.**  
Sydney: W. Baker, 1846.

A journey of nearly 3,000 miles [4,828 km], from the Darling Downs to Port Essington. Leichhardt's 1844–1845 expedition was one of the longest inland forays in the history of Australian exploration: it, and his careful observations, opened up huge pastoral territories to white settlement. The book was preceded by three rare Sydney pamphlets, one of which is exhibited.

Ludwig Leichhardt was a Prussian, who studied at the universities of Berlin and Göttingen. Later he studied medicine and natural science in England. He came to Australia in 1842, intending from the start to explore the interior. Unable to find official support, he eventually led a party of volunteers to Port Essington, supported by public subscription. He was greatly feted on his return to Sydney, and had no difficulty in financing his next expedition in which he set out to cross Australia from the Darling Downs to the west coast, and then to follow the coast south to the Swan River settlement. He disappeared during the second attempt at this near-impossible task, and his remains have never been found. His scientific and geographic work won him great admiration during his lifetime, but his reputation as an expeditionary leader has suffered since. His life and unknown death have become part of the mythology of European Australia.

- 102** *Mitchell, Thomas,* **Journal of an expedition into the interior of tropical Australia.**  
London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1848.

A search for an overland route from Sydney to the north coast of Australia — "the first step in the direct road home to England", if a sea-route to Singapore was to be developed. Mitchell and his party set out in December 1845, not knowing that Leichhardt (who was believed lost) was to reach Port Essington in the same month. He was not the first person to keep alive Maslen's (86) belief in a great river flowing to the north, although Mitchell's debouched somewhat to the east of Maslen's. As Maslen had done, he used the name Australindia for the lands of the north, along with Capricornia. He turned back after mapping the country around the headwaters of the Maranoa, Warrego and Belyando Rivers. As always, he was a keen observer of the country he mapped. It was a tough landscape, in which "without labour, the inhabitants must be savages"; a beautiful one, in which even the human inhabitants were essentially foreign: "Here still was our own race amongst other animals all new and strange to Europeans. The prints of the foot of man alone were familiar to us. But here he was living in common with other animals simply on the bounty of nature; artless, and apparently as much afraid



inative and surprising . . . one of the most companionable of Australian books."

**108** *Basedow, Herbert.*      **Journal of the Government**  
1881-1933.                      **North-west expedition.**  
Adelaide: Royal Geographical Society of Australasia,  
South Australian Branch, 1914.

An unobtrusive account of a 1903 expedition into country west of Oodnadatta. Outwardly a drab and rather dry report of a government operation, Basedow's narrative shows that fear of Aboriginal attack was still widespread as the twentieth century began. The party was sitting around the campfire one night, when several people became suspicious of a lurking shape in the shadows. After several unanswered challenges, shots were fired at what was believed to be the forerunner of a black attack. It was a tree stump. Basedow later had a distinguished career as a Protector of Aborigines in the Northern Territory.

# LIVING IN THE NEW COUNTRY

*As the hill-path drops down to the lower valley the lighter green of the homestead fields brings in a note of contrast, and across the fall of the foot-hills there winds the grey, white or reddish tint of a road. It is the road along which I had come, and upon which I had now to turn.*

*But instead of going away, as it were, I have been trying to tell you of a place I have never left, because I took it along with me, in the inward joy of the heart.*

Archer Russell, *Bush ways* (1944).

**P**ERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT books to do with Australia are those that tell of the land. Books to do with natural history, agriculture, gardening and bushwalking speak often of living in Australia, and of earning a living from the land; of charting and learning to wonder at its natural history; of learning to cope with distance and isolation, and at the same time of discovering the wilderness that so often survives within a few kilometres of our capital cities. It is as difficult to pick out a handful of texts as representative of the work of naturalists in Australia as it is to characterize any aspect of Australian life with a tiny proportion of its books. The books with which this section begins epitomize the problem: here are the first entire works devoted to the topic, yet other books, including some displayed elsewhere in this exhibition, are of equal or greater importance. John Hunter's *Journal* of 1793 (7), for instance, contains a description of the affinities of species encountered by the naturalists of the First Fleet which defied beliefs in the constancy of species, and which Erasmus Darwin reiterated in 1794: a step along the way to the theory of evolution, which often drew on Australian evidence. What is sought for here is an indication of the beginnings of Australian natural science as a published discipline, followed by a few examples of the books which document the interaction of people and natural environment in the twentieth century. Along the way are seen some of the early texts of farming in the new land.

## Some beginnings of natural history

- 109** *Smith, James Edward*, 1759–1828.  
A specimen of the botany of New Holland.  
Vol 1, London: J. Sowerby, 1793.

The first work solely on Australian botany. The illustrations were based on coloured drawings sent by John White to Thomas Wilson, who had been associated with White's *Journal* (6).

- 110** *Shaw, George*, 1751–1813.  
Zoology of New Holland.  
Vol 1, London: J. Sowerby, 1794.

The first work devoted solely to Australian animal life, and the first to use the words "Australia" and "Australian" as descriptors. It was issued in parts with Smith's *Specimen of the botany of New Holland* (109), but only Volume 1 was published. James Sowerby was responsible for many of the illustrations, using as his model specimens in English collections, but some may be copied from Thomas Watling's paintings, also sent to England by John White.

- 111** *Lewin J.W. (John William)*, 1770–1819.  
Natural history of lepidopterous insects of New South Wales.  
London: Printed for the author, and published from the hand of his brother, Thomas Lewin, 1805.

The first book on Australian insects, illustrated by the first professional artist to work in Australia. Lewin arrived in New South Wales in 1800, and travelled widely gathering specimens. He went with James Grant on the *Lady Nelson* to Bass Strait and the Hunter River, and also visited Tahiti. The plates for his insect book were engraved in the colony and sent back to London, where his brother arranged publication.

Although he had been commissioned to collect insect specimens by a London naturalist, and presumably used them also in his drawings, Lewin's insects and, later, his birds, have a lifelike quality about them which separates them from the sometimes distorted versions of Australian wildlife produced in England by artists working from preserved specimens. This is enhanced by his constant reference to the subject's environment in his portraits, sketchy as it is. That he had carefully observed bird behaviour is also evident from his short but vivid descriptions in the 1813 edition of *Birds of New South Wales* (112). Both skilled natural history

draughtsman and naturalist, trained by a father who was also a natural history artist, he may also have been responsible for the cheerful and sympathetic portraits of Aboriginal life in *Field sports of the native inhabitants of New South Wales* (1813), although such attribution must remain speculative. The same living quality is evident in his botanical art, which is far more successful than that of his English contemporaries, who had to work from dried specimens.

- 112** *Lewin J.W (John William)* *Birds of New South Wales, with their natural history.*  
1770-1819.  
Sydney: Printed by G. Howe, 1813.

The first private publication printed in Australia, which is also the first illustrated book published in Australia, containing the first plates engraved and printed here. Lewin originally published his book, the first devoted to Australian birds, in London. He had the plates engraved in the colony and sent them off, after printing a number of trial proofs. Only six copies are known to have survived of the 1808 London edition, sixty-seven of which had been subscribed for in New South Wales. It has been speculated that something happened to the consignment bound for Australia, and that in desperation Lewin turned to George Howe to produce an equivalent text to that which had gone astray, using the trial proofs printed some years before. Surviving copies have the plates on paper watermarked 1802 and where dated in the imprint carry the dates 1804 or 1805.

The letterpress description of each bird is certainly different from that of the London edition, which argues that Lewin did not have it available to him. On the other hand, so few copies have survived of this edition also that rarity can not be used as proof of disaster: the definitive story has yet to be told. Only eight complete copies of the 1813 Sydney edition of Lewin's *Birds* are known to exist today.

- 113** *Brown, Robert,* *Prodromus florae Novae-Hollandiae et insulae Van-Diemen.*  
1773-1858.  
London: J. Johnson, 1810.

The work of the first of the interpretative botanists to work in Australia. Brown was the naturalist on Flinders' *Investigator* from 1800 to 1805, and botanized in Australia from 1801 to 1804. His appendix to Flinders' *Voyage to Terra Australis* (1814) "helped to transform botanical classification and to launch the new study of plant geography", as Ann Moyal puts it. Brown became Joseph Banks' librarian and private secretary, and inherited his collections. Later he became Keeper of Botanical Collections at the British Museum, and had a profound influence on scientific botany and botanical classification.

- 114** *Peron, François,* *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres Australes.*  
1775-1810.  
Paris: De l'Imprimerie Impériale, 1807-1816. Volume 1 of the atlas.

The well-equipped vessels of the turn-of-the-century exploring expeditions of the French carried the most significant gatherings of scientific workers to have visited Australia and the Pacific to that time. This is the official account of the Baudin-Freycinet voyage, carried out from 1800 to 1804, which did significant work in western Australia and Tasmania, as well as visiting Sydney. It also contains significant material on the life of the Tasmanian Aborigines before white settlement.

This expedition circumnavigated Australia at the same time as did Flinders' — the two parties met at Encounter Bay — and the atlas volume contains the first complete map of Australia. Ironically, it would have been preceded by that of Flinders if he had not been imprisoned by the French at Mauritius. The narrative account of the expedition was begun by Peron, the naturalist, and was completed by Freycinet after Peron died.

Just as the key English texts of Australian exploration and settlement were quickly translated into the main European languages, this too soon appeared in English, in 1818. Although the published accounts of the French voyages are reports of scientific and economic exploration — "la Nouvelle-Hollande mieux connue: végétaux utiles naturalisés en France" (New Holland better understood: useful plants naturalized in France) reads the motto on the title page of this volume — such voyages had major military and strategic purposes, as did every move of Europe into the Pacific from the late eighteenth century. Europe was entering its last period of imperial power, which would see much of the world shared out amongst it for a brief time: the magnificence of the volumes the French, the Russians and the English produced to celebrate those voyages reflected their global ambitions as well as their achievements in fine colour printing and the celebration of the beginnings of modern science.

- 115** *Richardson, William.* *A catalogue of 7385 stars, chiefly in the southern hemisphere.*  
London: HMSO, 1835.

The first major star catalogue of the southern skies, a product of the governorship of Thomas Brisbane, who brought two astronomers with him when he took up office in Australia. The first observatory was built at Parramatta in 1822, and in 1829 Carl Rumker published his *Astronomical observations at Parramatta*, the first astronomical publication to deal with the work done there.

- 116** *Bennett, George,* *Wanderings in New South Wales.*  
1804-1893.  
London: Richard Bentley, 1834.

After the 1820s, naturalists resident in Australia came to prominence. George Bennett was one such, who came to Sydney for the first time in 1829 and who eventually settled there in 1836, where he was a distinguished physician. He corresponded for most of his life with the leading British comparative anatomist, Richard Owen, providing him with much important data.

Bennett was particularly interested in the platypus and the question of whether or not it was oviparous. His was the most detailed early work on the platypus, but many of his conclusions were left out of this, his first book, to ensure that they would be first announced in a paper for the Zoological Society. In this he epitomizes the tendency of modern scientific workers to view the book as not the best medium for the announcement of scientific discovery. Learned papers, journal contributions and personal networks have long been the mainstay of scientific publication, having the immediacy of rapid publication and the guarantee of an expert, responsive readership. Books tend to be, instead, a medium for the summary of a life's work, for teaching and for communication with lay readers.

- 117** *Strzelecki, Paul Edmund de,* 1796-1873. **Physical description of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.** London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1845.

The book which laid the basis of Australian palaeontology. Strzelecki was a Pole, born near Poznan at a time when it was under Prussian control. He left Poland in 1830, and travelled in North and South America and the Pacific before coming to Australia in 1839. Here he began geological fieldwork, which included the ascent and naming of Mount Kosciuszko and important exploration in Van Diemen's Land. He left Sydney in 1843, and settled in London. There he waged a campaign to prove himself the discoverer of gold in Australia, in which he had actually been preceded by Lhotsky, who in 1834 had extracted gold from his mineral specimens.

- 118** *David, T.W Edgeworth,* 1858-1934. **The geology of the Commonwealth of Australia.** London: Arnold, 1950.

The first book to gather the widely scattered data of Australian geology, accompanied by the most detailed national geological map of its day. David first signed the contract for his magnum opus in either 1914 or 1915, and published the map in 1932. He died in 1934, whereupon the manuscript was bought by the New South Wales Government and handed over to William Rowan Browne (1884-1975) to edit. David had been incapable of coordinating the many contributors to the work, which dominated Browne's life for the subsequent fifteen years. The book illustrates the difficulty of coping with

the information explosion in science, which has produced the computerized literature search as its modern equivalent.

- 119** *Jukes, J. Beete (Joseph Beete),* 1811-1869. **Narrative of the surveying voyage of H.M.S. Fly.** London: T. & W. Boone 1847.

The first substantial published record of the Great Barrier Reef, and a classic of early Australian geology. Jukes was marine geologist on board the *Fly* during its detailed survey of the northeast coast of Australia, from 1842 to 1845. His observations of the natural history of the reef gave strong support to Charles Darwin's theory on the formation of coral islands. Later Jukes produced the first attempt at a geological map of the whole continent. He records the change in his attitude to the Reef, after first viewing it as a navigational hazard and scientific curiosity: one day in June or July 1843 he became aware of "a scene of the rarest beauty, and left nothing to be desired by the eye, either in elegance of form, or brilliancy and harmony of colouring".

- 120** *Veron, J.E.N. (John Edward Norwood),* **Corals of Australia and the Indo-Pacific.** Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1986.

Australian researchers lead the world in coral research. Recent discoveries have greatly extended knowledge of coral spawning, a phenomenon largely unnoticed in the past. Books such as this epitomize the changes in the appearance and illustration of books since Jukes and his contemporaries set out to map the Great Barrier Reef. Australian book design has won international recognition since the 1970s, particularly in the field of textbooks.

- 121** *Gould, John,* 1804-1881. **The birds of Australia.** Vol. 4. London: Published by the author, 1840-1848.

The most celebrated of Australian bird books. First published in thirty-six parts, Gould's *Birds of Australia* was the work of a self-made zoological entrepreneur, who invested £15,000 in the project.

The book is as much the achievement of his wife, Elizabeth Coxen, as his own. It was her brothers, farmers in the Hunter Valley, who first sent him Australian bird skins to work on. Later their farm became one of his bases during the fieldwork that he, his wife, John Gilbert, and several Aboriginal guides carried out between 1838 and 1840. Gilbert, the collector they brought with them, was left behind to continue the work after the Goulds left Australia. He travelled widely, beginning in Western Australia, and himself did pioneering fieldwork. He was eventually killed by Aborigines on the Leichhardt expedition in 1845.

Gould began publication almost as soon as he returned to London in 1840, supervizing the printing and hand-colouring of the lithographic plates

himself. Many of the drawings were transferred to the stone by Elizabeth Gould, but other artists were employed after her death in 1841. The set of thirty-six parts, bound into seven volumes, cost subscribers £115. A final eighth volume was published in 1869.

It was John Gould who took several living pairs of budgerigars to England, beginning the long career of that bird as a caged pet. He forecast a time when "flocks of parrakeets no longer fly over the houses and chase each other in the streets of Hobart Town and Adelaide, that no longer does the noble bustard stalk over the flats of the Upper Hunter nor the emus feed and breed on the Liverpool plains . . . and if this be so, surely the Australians should at once bestir themselves to render protection to these and many other native birds; otherwise very many of them . . . will soon become extinct". Despite his awareness of conservation issues, his later work *The mammals of Australia* (published in thirteen parts from 1845 to 1863) often contains comments on what sort of eating an animal provides! Nonetheless, the magnificent volumes he published have played a crucial role in gaining for Australian wildlife both admiration and protection.

- 122** *Scott, A. W.*                      **Australian lepidoptera and  
(Alexander W.),**                      **their transformations.**  
1800–1883.  
London: John Van Voorst, 1864.

"The force of painting can no further go", wrote an earlier reviewer of the work of the Scott family. Harriet and Helena Scott (1830–1907 and 1832–1910), who illustrated their father's text in this volume, were the foremost scientific illustrators in New South Wales in the 1860s and 1870s. They were the daughters of Alexander Walker Scott and Harriet Calcott: he a well-off and well-educated entomologist and farmer, and she a convict. They married in 1846, when the sisters were sixteen and fourteen, and lived at Ash Island, at Hexham on the Hunter River, where their father completed his training of them as artists and naturalists. From early childhood they had moved in scientific and emancipist circles, and knew artists such as Conrad Martens. Although widely recognized for its beauty and scientific importance at the time, their achievement as artists was quickly forgotten by later generations.

*Australian lepidoptera* was published in an edition of only 500. That first volume, of a projected larger work, containing hand-coloured lithographic plates, ceased at part three. Soon after publication Walker Scott was made bankrupt, and the work was not resumed until the 1890s, when the Australian Museum Trustees reprinted the first three parts and began a second volume. They had acquired the manuscript, drawings, and unused, uncoloured plates in 1884, after Walker Scott's death. The plates were first used without any colouring, and when in 1898 the Museum Trustees reissued the four parts they had published from 1890 to 1893

as Volume 2 the plates were only partly coloured. The absence and weakening of colour must have contributed to the subsequent neglect of these remarkable artists, adding yet another hurdle to an already difficult obstacle race.

## Farming

- 123** *Busby, James,*                      **A manual of plain directions  
1801–1871.**                      **for planting and cultivating  
vineyards.**  
Sydney: Printed by R. Mansfield, for the executors of  
R. Howe, 1830.

A treatise for "the class of smaller settlers", following a larger and more expensive work of 1825, *A treatise on the culture of the vine*. Busby's manual was sold for three and sixpence, and could be bought from District Constables. He argued that wine could be enjoyed every day, avoiding muddling ale and the fire of spirits. Busby was an important figure in the development of viticulture in Australia, which he had studied in France. His work included the importation of vine cuttings and plant seeds as well as four useful books. His other career, as a civil servant, was also notable. He was British Resident in New Zealand from 1832 until 1840, where he tried to establish an independent Maori state under British protection, and prepared the draft of the treaty signed at Waitangi in 1840, with which decisive control of New Zealand affairs by Britain began.

- 124** *De Castella, Hubert,*                      **Notes of an Australian vine  
1825–1907.**                      **grower.**  
Melbourne: Mast Gully Press, 1979.  
No. 133 of 750 copies.

First published in French in 1882, by George Robertson of Melbourne, in order to persuade the French public of the respectability of Australian wine, this is a vivid portrait also of the success of French and Swiss farmers and viticulturalists in Victoria in the late nineteenth century. De Castella first came to Australia in 1854, and after a stay of only twenty-two months returned to Switzerland, where he wrote *Les squatters australiens* (1861). An outspoken defence of Victoria, perhaps written in reaction to several scandalous critiques of the colony, it was among the first of the many books in French which followed the early accounts of scientific discovery and exploration with reports of a colony of settlement and progress. Soon after publication, de Castella returned to Australia where he began a vineyard he called St Hubert's on a portion of Yering, his brother's former squatting lease. Although he lost control of that famous vineyard in 1890, and returned to Europe soon thereafter, he was for some years a leading personality in the promotion of the Victorian wine industry.

Mast Gully Press is the publishing subsidiary of bookseller Kenneth Hince. This was the first book of the press.

- 125 Adams, Tate.** **Diary of a vintage.**  
Melbourne: Lyre Bird Press, 1981.  
No. XXII of 75 copies *hors commerce*, of an edition of 450.

The work cycle of the year at Wynn's Coonawarra Estate in South Australia, depicted in wood engravings. Adams had been involved in the advertizing campaign which launched the Wynn's Coonawarra trade name in the 1950s, when winemaking was still a craft involving great oak barrels and ancient techniques. The challenge he faced with this book was to render a workplace of steel vats and aerial spraying faithfully, whilst retaining a sense of beauty and dignity appropriate to the vintage. The use of boxwood engravings printed from the wood contributes to the bridging of traditions that he achieves.

- 126 Atkinson, James.** **An account of the state of agriculture and grazing in New South Wales.**  
1795-1834.  
London: J. Cross, 1826.

The first book on Australian agriculture. James Atkinson's life is sketched elsewhere in this catalogue (195), in connection with Charlotte Barton. He farmed 2,000 acres [809 ha] at Sutton Forest, in New South Wales, and was also the author of a calendar of the year's farming operations in the *Australian almanack* for 1833.

- 127 Bunce, Daniel.** **Manual of practical gardening, adapted to the climate of Van Diemen's Land.**  
1813-1872.  
Hobart Town: William Gore Elliston, 1838.

First published in twelve monthly parts, Bunce's manual was the work of a trained gardener and botanist who made important contributions to scientific agriculture. Bunce emigrated to Tasmania in 1835, and in 1839 lived with a group of Victorian Aborigines for a while, studying their language, before establishing a nursery at St Kilda. In 1846 he travelled with Leichhardt for six months, planting melons and vegetable seeds at every camp of the outward journey, which contributed greatly to the survival of the scurvy-affected party on its retreat from the unsuccessful attempt to cross Australia from east to west.

## Life in the bush

- 128 Franklin, Miles.** **My brilliant career.**  
1879-1954.  
Edinburgh: Blackwoods, 1901.  
Third impression, 1902, signed by the author and her mother.

The hardship and poverty of farming failure, contrasted with the idyll of life at a prosperous station. *My brilliant career* is many things: a vital feminist

statement, a paeon of love for the Australian bush and the high mountain country of the Brindabellas, and a vivid portrait of the narrowness of life on the way down in the back country. It was rejected by Angus & Robertson, much to George Robertson's later regret, and upon publication caused such an uproar among Miles Franklin's family and friends that she withdrew it from sale and left home for Sydney. No publisher would touch her sequel, *My career goes bung*, until 1946, and many of her subsequent novels were published under the pseudonym of "Brent of Bin-Bin".

- 129 Rudd, Steele.** **Our new selection.**  
1868-1935.  
[Sydney]: *The Bulletin*, 1903.  
No. 1 of 200 copies on better paper.

Another portrait of hard times in the bush, as well as of the humour of its survivors. Arthur Hoey Davis grew up on a selection at Emu Creek in Queensland, but became a clerk in Brisbane at the age of eighteen. His first stories were published in the *Bulletin* in 1895 under his pseudonym of Steele Rudd. As Green points out, humour is a resource and a refuge in these stories, a vital ingredient in survival itself and not something "dragged in by the tail". Their intention is always serious, and an underlying recognition of this may be part of the explanation of Steele Rudd's success with his audience, many of whom knew hardship vividly themselves.

- 130 Gunn, Jeannie.** **We of the never-never.**  
1870-1961.  
London: Hutchinson, 1908.

A classic of the bush and of women's writing: the portrait of one year, 1902, in the life of a Northern Territory cattle station. Jeannie Gunn went with her husband to Elsey Station at a time when white women were a rarity in the tropical bush. Aeneas Gunn died of malarial dysentery in 1903, and Jeannie Gunn returned to Victoria. There she wrote *The little black princess* (1905) and *We of the never-never*, both of which were influential and popular books, attitude formers at a time when urban Australians were establishing a new set of perceptions of the north. Her work was both testimony to the possibilities of survival and the likelihood of premature death there. This copy, from the Whelan collection of autographed books in the National Library, is annotated with the violent fates of almost every principal character of the book. Over 400,000 copies of *We of the never-never* have been sold. It is an important document of the ever potent myth of a rural Australia whose values had been simple and uncomplicated by change, of a belief that the greatest challenge facing Australia was the development of the north and the conquest of the interior.

- 131** *Flynn, John*, 1880–1951. **The bushman's companion.**  
Melbourne: Home Mission Committees of the Presbyterian Church in Victoria and New South Wales, 1910.

A collection of essential information for inlanders, from first aid to will-making and the Order of Service for the Dead. John Flynn was the founder of the Australian Inland Mission of the Presbyterian Church, and of the Flying Doctor Service which grew out of that Mission. He founded a somewhat irregular magazine, *The Inlander*, and organized the collection of many thousands of books and magazines for distribution in the bush. An activist totally committed to closer white settlement of the north, he had a vision of his Mission as much more than "a mere preaching agency". Instead, it must be "the dynamic partner in National enterprises", he told one of his colleagues in 1933, else it would "shrivel into a selfish little church runt". The School of the Air grew out of the radio networks established by the Flying Doctor Service: although his main emphasis was always on the reform of medical services in the outback, he indirectly had a transforming influence on the educational opportunities of many thousands of Australians, including the Aborigines he at first excluded from his ambitions.

- 132** *Vickers, Allan*, 1901–1967. **Unpublished diary.**  
1930–1932.

One form of book many Australians have written is the personal diary, sometimes as an intimate personal record and sometimes for the benefit of others, perhaps through publication after the author's death. Allan Vickers' diaries record the Depression years of the Flying Doctor Service, the survival of which owed much to his passionate commitment to the people of the bush. In 1931 he and his pilot Arthur Affleck made a risky flight to Mornington Island, in the Gulf of Carpentaria, where an outbreak of typhoid was feared. His diary records the flight, made in an ageing single-engined Fox Moth, as well as valuable information about conditions at the Presbyterian Mission on Mornington Island. One of the children who watched his plane land grew up to be the artist, Dick Roughsey, whose autobiography is exhibited elsewhere (50).

### Bushwalkers, field naturalists and gardeners

- 133** *Croll, R.H. (Robert Henderson)*, 1869–1947. **Along the track.**  
Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens, [1930?].

- 134** *Brereton, J. Le Gay*, 1871–1933. **Knocking round.**  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1930.

With simple, unpretentious little books like these urban Australians celebrated an encounter with the bush that was neither the battle of Baynton and Lawson nor the romance of Paterson. Croll was a Melbourne public servant and part-time journalist, important in literary and artistic circles and an early champion of talents as diverse as John Shaw Neilson and Albert Namatjira: a Bohemian who was also a mainstay of the Melbourne Walking Club. Brereton was a friend of Lawson and Brennan, a librarian and academic, pacifist and vegetarian: "it was through bush and river and seashore that the door to 'the vision splendid' opened most easily for him", as Green puts it. In books such as these can be seen an articulation of the land as part of the spiritual landscape of White Australians, no longer an alien force to be tamed and made profitable but a rich resource of wilderness and beauty, from which it was impossible to single out just a few animals or trees for preservation.

Although the National Park movement in Australia is more than a century old — the Royal National Park near Sydney having been established in 1879 — the 1920s and 1930s were years of transition towards present aspirations to protect and extend publicly-owned wilderness rather than simply to provide green space in and near cities, often planted with imported trees and cultivated as parkland. Not that bushwalking was invented in the 1930s or thereabouts. The need for wilderness is an ancient one: in terms of white settlement in Australia alone, was not Lhotsky speaking in a way instantly recognizable to the dedicated conservationist when he set off from Sydney in 1834 with the words: "I left behind me all Bills of Exchange, Courts, Summonses, Attorneys, Editors of Newspapers, Gaols and such like and exulted in the feeling of abandoning of these delights of ultra-civilised society. I should once again enjoy for some time, a freedom nearly approaching the state of nature"? A number of walking clubs were active in the Australian cities at the turn of the century: this is not the place for a history of the movement, but in New South Wales a renewed search for wilderness probably began with Myles Dunphy's expeditions into the Blue Mountains after 1912. In 1927 the Sydney Bush Walkers' club was formed, aiming to protect the interest of bushwalkers by defending the wilderness they had discovered anew. The Depression further stimulated the new hobby, as bushwalking was a comparatively cheap form of recreation. By the 1930s, as Peter Prineas comments in *Wild places* (1983), "a bushwalking cult emerged . . . that was sometimes quite chauvinist in its claims for things Australian". He links this with both the work of the Jindyworobak poets and anthropological work in Central Australia, which had begun to teach White Australians something of the spiritual ties between the Aborigines and the land.

- 135** *Cayley, Neville W.*      **What bird is that?**  
1887-1950.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1931.

Probably the best-selling natural history text in Australia's history. The book had its genesis as one of George Robertson's great publishing ventures, equal to *The Australian encyclopaedia* of 1925. In 1924, when Robertson abandoned the project which had begun in 1920 after another in a series of arguments with Cayley, he explained himself to the illustrator in the following terms: "I was greatly distressed. Cayley was necessary to me, but he failed to perceive that, after all, he was only an instrument in the hands of a man whose desire was to do something big for Australia."

When publication was resumed it was on a far more modest scale than the twenty volumes initially planned, with the result that it became a standard text in ordinary Australian homes rather than an expensive luxury to be sold by mail-order to the few. Cayley planned an elaborate direct-mail advertising program for his and other encyclopaedic works, envisaging as likely clients Schools of Art and Mechanics' Institutes, patent attorneys, doctors, journalists, engineers, pastoralists, clergy, architects, lawyers, master builders, bank managers, insurance managers and surveyors — the list is a telling glimpse of the small Australian professional elite of 1924.

Exhibited with the first edition is a copy of the sixth edition (1937), "autographed" by Cayley with an original drawing of a kookaburra on the front free endpaper.

- 136** *Walling, Edna.*              **Gardens in Australia.**  
1896-1973.  
Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1943.

- 137** *Walling, Edna.*              **Cottage and garden in  
Australia.**  
1896-1973.  
Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1947.

One of the early advocates of the use of Australian native plants in gardens, and of the use of natural materials such as earth and stone in house-building, Edna Walling was one of Australia's great landscape designers. She was greatly influenced by Gertrude Jekyll's interpretations of the English countryside she had known as a child, but it was the underlying principle of integration with the natural environment that she responded to in Jekyll's ideas, and in her turn Walling looked to the Australian bush for her basic inspiration.

- 138** *Waterhouse, E.G.*          **Camellia trail.**  
(*Eban Gowrie*),  
1881-1977.  
[Sydney]: Ure Smith, 1952.  
No. 623 of 1,000 copies.

Although the camellia is an introduced plant, many new varieties have been grown in Australia. E.G. Waterhouse produced some fifty of them, grown

in a Sydney garden around his house, Eryldene, and at a St Ives nursery. The garden was designed as a series of outdoor rooms, extending the living areas of the house throughout an acre [.4 ha] of land. This concept influenced many Australian gardens, large and small, as did Waterhouse's revival of interest in the camellia, imported to Australia from Japan via China and Britain by John Macarthur but long neglected when Waterhouse began his research. The twenty-one plates are by Paul Jones, with whom Waterhouse produced several notable books.

- 139** *Truchanas, Olegas.*      **The world of Olegas  
Truchanas.**  
1923-1972.  
Hobart: Olegas Truchanas Publication Committee,  
1975.

A posthumous manifesto by a man who died in the wilderness he fought to save. "This vanishing world is beautiful beyond our dreams and contains in itself rewards and gratifications never found in artificial landscape, or man-made objects, so often regarded as exciting evidence of a new world in the making". Truchanas wrote. He went to Tasmania in 1948, a displaced Lithuanian immigrant, and in 1958, alone, made one of the epic voyages of Australian exploration by kayak from Lake Pedder down the Serpentine and Gordon Rivers, through towering gorges and dangerous rapids never before accurately described by white travellers. In 1972 he drowned in the Gordon River, seeking to replace photographs lost in the 1967 Tasmanian bushfires which were needed in the campaign to save Lake Pedder from flooding.

- 140**                                      **Lake Pedder.**  
Hobart: Wilderness Society, 1985.

Conservationist and parliamentarian, Bob Brown edited this time-capsule book. "The sands of Lake Pedder's beach, the lake's basin and the meanderings of the Serpentine River have not gone . . . . If those wiser times prevail in the future, this book will be there to encourage the restorers of Earth to recover Lake Pedder." Highly commended for its design, this is far more than a coffee-table book with a message, but a statement of faith in the book as an agent of revolutionary change and inspiration.

*Our mass produced culture has taught us to read books at the expense of seeing them.*

Nola Anderson, *Paper plus* (1987).

**T**HE DEVELOPMENT of an arts press in Australia followed soon after the emergence of artists as a definable group within the Australian community, a trend which Bernard Smith dates to the 1880s. By 1899, not surprisingly in Melbourne, where artists' camps on the edges of the city symbolized the separation between artists and the general populace, the first Australian art monograph had been published. By 1916, at a time when a boom in Australian art was getting under way, the solid foundations of technical achievement in accurate colour printing had been laid down. Presented here are the books that grew out of the changes in Australian artistic awareness in those years: books that were themselves agents of change, and summaries of achievement. With them are a few artists' books, products of an understanding that the book in itself can be a significant medium of original artistic expression.

## The outriders

- 141** [*Lindsay, Lionel,*                      **A consideration of the art of**  
1874-1961.]                      **Ernest Moffitt.**  
[Melbourne: Printed by Atlas Press, 1899].  
No. 147 of an edition of 200.

A memorial to a pioneer printmaker, a close friend of the Lindsay family. As well as being the first Australian art monograph, it can be seen as the forerunner of a tradition of artists' books, containing as it does an original etching by Moffitt. Robert Holden comments: "its appearance at the very end of the nineteenth century serves to emphasise the fact that Australian art book publishing is a twentieth-century phenomenon". This was Lionel Lindsay's first book. Its publication was paid for by Moffitt's and Lindsay's friend, Professor Marshall-Hall, first holder of the Ormond Chair of Music at Melbourne University, who was dismissed when his tenure ran out in 1900 "as an infidel professor".

- 142** *Teague, Violet,*                      **Night fall in the ti-tree.**  
1872-1951  
Woodcuts by Geraldine Rede and Violet Teague.  
London: Elkin Matthews, 1906. Imprinted now by  
hand at the Sign of the Rabbit, 89 Collins Street,  
Melbourne.

The first example of coloured woodblock printing in Australia, well in advance of modern English interest in printmaking and influenced by contemporary Japanese childrens books. This book won an award at the First Australian Exhibition of Women's Work, Melbourne 1907, at a time of increased activity by women artists generally. Teague and Rede's work, and that of Ernest Moffitt, are a reminder that innovative printmaking was happening in Melbourne as well as Sydney at the beginning of the modern period.

- 143** *McCrae, Hugh,*                      **Satyrs & sunlight.**  
1876-1958.  
Sydney: John Sands, 1909.  
No. 75 of 130 copies.

An early statement of the "satyrs and fauns" school, illustrated by Norman Lindsay. Almost completely subscribed before publication, with two state governors and the Governor-General among its purchasers, it was a wealthy collector's book. In this it prefigured much of the art book phenomenon of the next two decades: it also led the way in the fine quality of its printing.

- 144** *McCrae, Hugh,*                      **Idyllia.**  
1876-1958.  
[Sydney]: Norman Lindsay Press, [1922].  
No. 25 of 133 copies, with 5 original etchings by  
Norman Lindsay, printed on handmade paper.

Although *Colombine* (1920) is rarer, this is the most dramatic of the books McCrae and Lindsay collaborated on, and the only one published by Lindsay himself.

- 145** [*Maurice, Furnley,*                      **Here is faery.**  
1881-1942.]  
Melbourne: George Robertson, 1915.

"In authorship, illustration and production . . . this book is entirely Australian", the publisher proudly stated. It was illustrated by Percy Leason, with five tipped-in colour plates. Stories of the bush and its Pierrot-Spirit, it also belongs with a genre of European fantasy uneasily situated in the Australian environment.

## The beginnings

146

The Art of Frederick  
McCubbin.

Melbourne: Lothian, 1916.

The book with which large-scale art publishing in Australia began. In May and October 1916 Thomas Lothian dramatically and permanently changed the direction of Australian publishing with this and Ida Rentoul Outhwaite's *Elves & fairies* (147), both magnificent folio volumes superbly printed in Australia. He proved not only that Australian colour printing was comparable with the best England could produce, but also that Australians would buy expensive Australian books. Although these and the de luxe volumes that followed in Sydney in the 1920s were bought only by the well-to-do, the effect of this boost to the confidence and commitment to good book design of a few Australian publishers flowed through to other areas of book publishing.

*The art of Frederick McCubbin* was published in an edition of 1,000, and sold for two guineas before publication and three after. Reactions to it were as much to do with the war that had begun in 1914 as they were to do with the book itself: "As our boys at Anzac have demonstrated that we can produce fighting men worthy to stand beside the best of the world", one subscriber wrote to Lothian, "so you have demonstrated that we can produce books that do not suffer by comparison with the best work of the old land". McCubbin's work itself was interpreted in this light: one newspaper commented "every artist who stays in Australia and paints her as she is is worth two who love her but leave her". By 1916 McCubbin had come to believe this firmly himself, a change in his thinking which, as Robert Holden points out, "makes isolation and anti-modernist attitudes into national virtues . . . . *The art of Frederick McCubbin* is therefore an important primary source in the history of our evolving national image".

In 1912 Thomas Lothian took over his father's business of representing overseas publishers, which had begun in 1888 with John Lothian's arrival in Melbourne. The younger Lothian's first book trade job was as a junior salesman at Cole's Book Arcade, in 1894, and he joined his father in 1897. As a travelling publisher's representative, he entered into an arduous life, centred around a long annual journey to meet booksellers and librarians. Cases crammed with a great weight of samples and publishers' announcements, the travelling representative would move from town to town, unpacking everything at every stop, carefully calling in diplomatic order on the principal bookbuyers of a town, and writing up orders late into the night, before moving on the next town. Each journey lasted up to nine weeks, and each year a Lothian representative travelled as far north as Rockhampton, south to Hobart, and east to New Zealand, with Perth being visited once every two years. John Lothian had begun the whole business in Australia: before

his arrival booksellers had to rely on postal orders, or on occasional visits by British travelling salesmen, some of whom visited Australia biennially. Once established, the system became a highly effective way of advertizing and distributing books, maintained in one way or another to the present day.

Thomas Lothian began publishing on his own account in 1905, his first book being Bernard O'Dowd's *Silent land*. His financial backing was obscure, although he appears to have been acting for others at various times in his first decade. By 1913 he had published sixty-five books, plus several magazines. He was also an art promoter, Norman Lindsay's agent in Melbourne, and it was he who in 1907 negotiated the sale of the controversial pen drawing *Pollice verso* to the National Gallery of Victoria. He had his books printed in England, but in 1915 angrily broke with the firm that he had employed for the previous seven years when it delayed producing books needed for his Christmas sales, apparently through fear that his business becoming a limited company at the time would put them at risk. He may also have been concerned at the threat of submarine warfare to such a valuable cargo as the McCubbin consignment had it been printed in England. Whatever the reason, the decision to print in Australia turned out to be a triumphant success. Lothian survives to the present day, the second oldest Australian publishing house, still in family hands.

147 *Outhwaite, Ida  
Rentoul,*  
1888-1960.*Elves & fairies of Ida  
Rentoul Outhwaite.*

Melbourne: Lothian, 1916.

The first book with coloured illustrations by Australia's first important fantasy illustrator, and the other pioneering art book of 1916. With this, Lothian confirmed and consolidated his triumph of May 1916. Yet this was not achieved without great trouble and expense: the success of the book owed as much to her husband's work as a salesman as it did to the illustrator's, author's and publisher's skills.

Annie Rentoul's stories were a vital ingredient in the mix, which for much of the inter-war period provided exactly what adults buying children's fantasy wanted. It was not their first joint effort: the two sisters grew up in a family with a tradition of home-made family magazines, and in 1903 collaborated in a series of stories published in *The New Idea*. The following year they produced their first book, *Mollie's bunyip*. Ida, the younger sister, concentrated on her career as an artist, while Annie became a teacher. More books, Christmas cards, song books, pantomime costumes and magazine illustrations followed, and by the time of her marriage in 1909 Ida Rentoul Outhwaite had won considerable fame as an illustrator, producing images which were recognizably Australian in a way no other children's illustrations had been. Although

reminiscent of Rackham, Dulac and others, her imagery was entirely her own. "It is a world populated by children who could be everyday companions, whose encroachment into the land of faery may be startling but never alienating", Holden and Muir suggest. She has been relegated to the footnotes of art history, as a successful children's illustrator working to a formula which satisfied a small middle and upper-class audience. Yet it was Ida Rentoul Outhwaite who established children's book illustration as a viable way of earning a living in Australia, and her eighteen one-woman exhibitions between 1916 and 1933 established a considerable reputation in both Australia and England, at a time when few other women were able to command serious prices for their work.

Grenbry Outhwaite, Ida Rentoul Outhwaite's husband, was a well-connected Melbourne business man and lawyer. Three months before publication he had secured subscribers for 200 copies of *Elves & fairies*, and as early as January 1916 had persuaded every Australian Governor to subscribe in advance. As Thomas Lothian wrote to him: "You have obtained as subscribers for this book, men who have never before to our knowledge subscribed altogether for any work. It is excellent business, and will help us tremendously". A copy survives of Grenbry Outhwaite's letter to the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Gerald Strickland: "the Governor-General, to whom I am personally known through my brother in the English House of Commons, expressed his delight when I saw him to assist in obtaining 'some more of those delightful fairies'". The Governor-General also agreed to open the exhibition of the original artwork for the book, Ida Rentoul Outhwaite's first solo exhibition. Just as importantly, the Outhwaites provided a £400 subsidy against the £1,000 printing costs of the book, which was repaid when the first £1,000 worth of sales had been achieved. Although Grenbry Outhwaite made a visit to Sydney to drum up business, most of the edition of 1,500 copies was sold in Melbourne.

All this clearly concerned a small group within Australian society. They were people who normally bought expensive English books, and the success of just two art books was not going to change a pattern that reflected deeply-held loyalties to Empire. The books themselves were quite old-fashioned in comparison with English productions at the time, reminiscent, in Holden and Muir's words, of the "weighty tomes so favoured by our Victorian forebears, copiously illustrated by Gustave Dore and also produced, ostensibly, for children". The fine colour reproduction achieved by a three-colour process had also been developed in London at the turn of the century. It was expensive, as it required a heavy, glazed art paper which had to be tipped-in rather than sewn in with the sheets of the text, and four photographic negatives were required, but the combination of colour printing and colour photography produced remarkably faithful copies of

coloured illustrations. Finer work could only have been done by the collotype process, a slower and even more costly method. It is incorrect to claim, as has been done, that Lothian used collotype for these two books.

Whatever the limitations of the audience, these two books, followed by the books associated with *Art in Australia* in Sydney in the 1920s, focused Australian attention on the possibilities of fine book production and on the work of Australian artists in a way that had never been done before. Ida Rentoul Outhwaite was one of the first successful exhibiting women artists in Australia, whose work was for a time extremely popular in its many and mostly very affordable manifestations: this was her first great success in coloured book illustration, and is a basic document in the history of Australian art as well as in the history of Australian publishing.

148 *Shirlow, John,*  
1869-1936.

Melbourne: Alexander McCubbin, [1920].

No. 87 of 100 copies, with an original etching by Shirlow.

The etched work of John Shirlow.

Melbourne continued to produce fine art books. This was published by Alexander McCubbin, a son of Frederick McCubbin, who had completed the editing of Lothian's book on the artist, and the author of the biographical section of that book. The biography of Shirlow in this instance was contributed by R.H. Croll.

149

*Art in Australia.*

Sydney: Edited and published by Sydney Ure Smith, Bertram Stevens and C.L. Jones. No. 1, 1916.

The first successful art periodical in Australia, progenitor of a remarkable series of art books. "The principal aim of *Art in Australia* is to make the work of Australian artists better known to the Australian public", the editors announced, arguing that public ignorance of Australian art had as much to do with the small population and the great distances between cities as it had to do with simple indifference. Sydney Ure Smith's career as a publisher began when, as a young boy, he edited a flimsy house magazine for the hotel where his father worked, *The Australia Kat*. An accomplished etcher and watercolour painter, who trained with Julian Ashton, he established a commercial art studio with Harry Julius. From this base he launched a publishing career which was to illustrate, in microcosm, the transforming power of print. Although a traditional artist himself, selling his publications to a conservative lay readership, he acted as a vital link between the modernists and the traditionalists. Bernard Smith speculates that his influence may have had much to do with the comparatively peaceful development of the modern movement in Sydney, especially in the 1930s, by which time he was the elder statesman of the Australian art world. In Melbourne, in comparison, the battle lines were

drawn up more sharply and publicly, and perhaps as a result modernism "developed greater independence and greater vitality". The tale of two cities that dominates the history of Australian art concerns much more than a single personality, of course. Perhaps there has always been a tendency towards more lay involvement in Sydney, possibly because art has been produced more for sale to non-artists there. It is worth noting that the very first periodical devoted solely to the fine arts in Australia, George and Arthur Collingridge's *Australian Art*, which ran from January to March 1888, was also published in Sydney.

By 1916 Sydney Ure Smith's experiments in commercial colour printing had made him technically very knowledgeable, able to confidently predict that faithful reproduction of work such as Hans Heysen's was feasible. He had also gained the financial support of Angus & Robertson, then embarking on their most innovative period as publishers. Angus & Robertson published the first three numbers of *Art in Australia*, and the relationship remained a close one even after George Robertson withdrew his direct backing in 1917. Smith's aims are evident in the letter he wrote to Robertson in 1917, seeking to persuade him to change that decision: "If we worked together with Art publications, I've no doubt it would be a material benefit to your firm and to us . . . . We are very useful go-betweens — in connection with your firm and the artists. We realise enough of the publishing business to be able to make you case out reasonable — so that an artist will be satisfied with a reasonable allowance and I think we can put a case from the artists' point of view to you, also in a reasonable manner. There is no book we tackle which will non-enhance your firm's reputation by its [naming?] on the title-page". Smith went on: "It hits us hard, there's no doubt . . . . But hard as it will hit, we will not go under. I am absolutely determined to make a success of it. We have valuable educational work ahead of us — we wish to educate the artist, as well as the public and although through lack of capital and ready money it will delay many things . . . yet I feel sure *merit* wins. There is a demand for *Art in Australia* and people will go where they can get it . . . unless we are prepared to drop *Art in Australia*, and thus deprive the people of this country of the only honest attempt at a magazine of some culture, well we would have to make ourselves publishers".

*Art in Australia* did not go under, in part because Angus & Robertson could be relied on to take the largest portion of each number, and because its books and special numbers, partly modelled on the special numbers of the English magazine *The Studio*, were published knowing that Angus & Robertson would promote and sell much of the print run, even when its name was not on the title page. The magazine sold well and quickly — in 1918, for example, Angus & Robertson ordered 2,500 copies of number 5 before publication, providing they were

ready in time for Christmas sales. The special numbers and books were equally successful, and most went quickly out of print and began to command high prices. They were expensive to produce, however, and had to sell out completely in order to make a profit. In 1919 Smith wrote, probably to George Robertson: "we are absolutely sick and tired of these long delays and loss of money. As you know there is not much profit in our publications — and if the regular flow of publications ceases — then the profits are pretty hopeless".

This was the driving force behind the enormous productivity of the *Art in Australia* team: good public demand, Angus & Robertson capital and efficient distribution made the books possible, but low profits forced Smith and his colleagues into a situation where a high turnover was critical to survival, and more than an occasional dud would have seriously threatened the entire operation. By 1920, when *Art in Australia* Limited was launched, the net profit on the first seven numbers of *Art in Australia* and the first four books was only £491. It was not until *The Home*, Australia's first magazine of fashion and interior decoration, was established that the profits began to come in. By 1922 Smith had come to the conclusion that he would do better if he simply stuck to *The Home*: "the *Art Books* and *Art in Australia* take our hard earned *Home* profits and if I had the necessary courage I would give up *A in A* etc but I hang on for some unaccountable reason — in the hope that some day it will pay — knowing full well that it won't".

*The Home* was an independent venture, unrelated to Angus & Robertson. Later, Smith discovered that putting *Art in Australia's* price up from seven shillings and six pence to twelve shillings and six pence, and reducing the edition size, produced a healthier income. The expensive domestic interiors pictured in *The Home* suggest again that the magazines and the books clearly sold to a well-off readership.

## The books of Art in Australia

- 150** *Hilder, J.J. (Jesse Jewhurst), 1881–1916.* **The art of J.J. Hilder.**  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1918.  
No. 1 of 30 copies with the engraver's proofs of the colour plates.

Designed by Sydney Ure Smith, and edited by him and Bertram Stevens: the first of the *Art in Australia* books.

- 151** *Lindsay, Norman, 1879–1969.* **The pen drawings of Norman Lindsay.**  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1918.  
No. 6 of 200 copies.

The first special number of *Art in Australia*. Thirty-five copies were also produced on large paper, a common occurrence with the special numbers.

- 152** *Streeton, Arthur.*      **The art of Arthur Streeton.**  
1867–1943.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1919.  
No. 1 of 30 copies with the engraver's proofs of the colour plates.

- 153** *Gellert, Leon.*      **The isle of San.**  
1892–.  
Sydney: *Art in Australia*, 1919.  
No. 22 of 120 copies, with five original etchings by Norman Lindsay.

- 154** *Smith, Sydney Ure.*      **The etchings of Sydney Ure Smith.**  
1887–1949.  
Sydney: *Art in Australia*, [1920].  
No. 1 of 300 copies.

- 155** *Wilson, Hardy.*      **The cow pasture road.**  
1882–1955.  
Sydney: *Art in Australia*, 1920.

A fanciful history of the country between Parramatta and Camden.

- 156** *Lindsay, Lionel.*      **Conrad Martens.**  
1874–1961.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1920.  
One of 12 copies in the first issue.

- 157** *Heysen, Hans.*      **The art of Hans Heysen.**  
1877–1968.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1920.  
No. 12 of 29 copies, with the engraver's proofs of the colour plates.

- 158** *Young, Blamire.*      **The art of Blamire Young.**  
1862–1935.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1921.

- 159** *Lindsay, Lionel.*      **Windsor (New South Wales).**  
1879–1969.  
Sydney: *Art in Australia*, 1921.  
No. 8 of 16 copies, with eight original etchings by Lionel Lindsay and Sydney Ure Smith.

Perhaps the most elegant book ever published in Australia, printed by hand by Percy Green, then employed at Smith & Julius Studios. In Geoffrey Farmer's words, it was "unique in its time for its fine typography, perfect spacing, classical proportions and clean printing". Green was the first full-time professional typographer and book designer to work in Australia. His autobiography, *I am evergreen* (362) is displayed elsewhere in this exhibition. Farmer comments that Green was partly influenced by the concept of design practised in the English Doves Press books, in which a unity of all elements of production was sought — writing, printing, illustration and binding.

In *I am evergreen* the printer described the genesis of his career as a typographer. His work at Smith & Julius involved advertizing design, in which the task of fitting text and illustration together was particularly important. Then "I was asked to go into costs, and when it was found I could install a

handpress, stone and suitable type series, for between £60 and £100, and as a side issue I would do handlettering, everyone was wildly enthusiastic. I found myself divorced from Printing, and I became the first full-blown typographic artist in Australia".

Although these sumptuously illustrated books clearly owe much to the English interpretation of the French tradition of *éditions de luxe*, they had a distinctive quality about them. The French originals, stemming from the books of Ambroise Vollard, a Parisian art dealer, were primarily "an excuse for graphically-minded painters and sculptors to express themselves in a new graphic medium." John Lewis goes on to suggest that "such typographical virtues as these books may have possessed were of secondary consideration and were usually overwhelmed by the impact of the illustrations and the magnificence of their printing". It is to England that one looks for typographic brilliance at the time, when, after the revolutionary work of William Morris and others had cleared the way, a distinctive, restrained and accomplished style of letterpress printing and book design had been consolidated. Often these books were illustrated by graceful wood engravings. Books such as the Windsor book were typographically very strong. At the same time the illustrations, although conservative, were far more than mere servants of the text. There was an attempt in these books to bring together the concept of the *édition de luxe* and that of the typographic book: never as flamboyant as the one, and not as influential in general book design as the other, the mix nonetheless worked.

The Australian tradition established by Sydney Ure Smith and his colleagues continues today, and has produced some of the most brilliant and striking books of recent years. The Windsor book prefigures another recent theme in book production, although not of fine art books, as do such collections of engravings as Ure Smith's own book (154). They celebrate the beauty and history of Australia, and particularly of the built environment of Australia, without any trace of a cultural cringe. Borrowings from English private press traditions there are aplenty, but these books are not merely derivative. Instead, they contributed a key element of typographic strength and artistic awareness to the continuing development of an Australian mood in book design.

- 160** *Gellert, Leon.*      **Songs of a campaign.**  
1892–.  
3rd edition. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1917.

One of the bestsellers of the 1914–1918 war, illustrated in this edition by Norman Lindsay. Not one of the books of *Art in Australia*, it is included here to make the point that Angus & Robertson were interested in quality printing and sympathetic book illustration well before the series of de luxe volumes began in 1918. By October 1917 nearly 6,000 copies had been sold of the third edition of Gellert's poems.

It was printed in Adelaide by Hassell & Son, who later printed one of Australia's most attractive literary magazines, *Desiderata* (1929–1939).

161

**Art in Australia. Third series. Nos 17, 22, 29, 31 and 32.**

Sydney: Art in Australia Ltd, 1926 -

Margaret Preston was backed for many years by the energetic publisher, Sydney Ure Smith. It is not to gainsay her importance as one of the great artists of Australia to suggest that the extensive exposure her work and theories received through the books and journals that Smith published helped her to gain wide recognition during her life. The present revival of interest in her work should include her contribution to fine book production, as the books and journals exhibited here show.

Preston began the second phase of her life in 1919, when she returned to Australia from Europe, settled in Sydney and married. Although at first she exhibited with the Royal Art Society, she soon transferred allegiance to the more modern Society of Artists. The President of the Society of Artists was Sydney Ure Smith, who became a great admirer of her work. From 1923 her prints, paintings and articles appeared regularly in the journals he controlled: *Art in Australia*, *The Home* and the *Australian National Journal*. This gave Preston a large audience for her views on modern art, crafts, and Aboriginal art.

Preston's contribution to "A new vision of Australian landscape" (17, September 1926) was a series of woodcuts, mostly of urban scenes. Printmaking, along with pottery and other crafts such as basket-weaving, was easily done in the home, and its results could be afforded by the less affluent flat-dweller as well as the established art patron. Her essay "Pottery as a profession" appeared in 1930 (32). A detailed exposition of how to work clay, well illustrated and by an experienced potter, it is a useful reminder that Preston's art had by the 1920s become greatly influenced by the practicalities of the Arts and Crafts Movement.

The Margaret Preston number of *Art in Australia* (22, December 1927) carried strong defences of her approach to modernism by the anthropologist A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and the artist Thea Proctor, as well as the important autobiographical essay "From eggs to electrolux". "Yet again the old restless feeling is bothering her", she wrote. "She feels that this is a mechanical age — a scientific one — highly civilised and unaesthetic." Her public did not agree: after poor sales in 1928, she returned to colourful native flower motifs such as *Wheel-flower*, reproduced on the cover of *Art in Australia* 29 (September 1929), which she thought to be one of her best woodblock prints (No. 40 in Butler, *The prints of Margaret Preston*, 1987). In the same year Ure Smith published *Margaret Preston: recent paintings* (162), a landmark in the history of fine book production and marketing in Australia.

In 1930 *Art in Australia* published Preston's article "The application of Aboriginal designs" (31, March 1930). Her first major statement of the need to look to Aboriginal art had been made in 1925. She was probably the first White Australian artist to be deeply influenced by Aboriginal art, and to defend its aesthetic qualities, but some of her claims, whatever the transitional nature of racial attitudes in the 1930s, were deeply flawed. "The minds of very primitive beings are not capable of working on set lines", she wrote in 1930. "Do not bother about what the carver meant in the way of myths, rites etc.; that is not the decorator's affair." This typical Arts and Crafts concern with decoration first and foremost later gave way to an increasing appreciation of form as being fundamental to a mature landscape art: in this, both Aboriginal and East Asian sources contributed to her important landscapes painted and printed after 1939. This is particularly apparent in the last book Preston and Ure Smith produced together, *Margaret Preston's monotypes* (163).

**162** *Preston, Margaret, 1875–1963.*

Sydney: Ure Smith, 1929.

No. 62 of 250 copies, in a portfolio with an original signed coloured woodcut and 14 coloured plates, with duplicates of the coloured plates.

**Margaret Preston: recent paintings.**

This copy has *Mosman Bridge, 1927*, as the woodcut. Some other copies contained *Flowers in jug, c.1929*. Typography and printing was by Percy Green, at the time Australia's most talented typographer. The portfolio was heavily promoted as an investment by *Art in Australia*. It cost £428 to produce, of which £100 came from Preston herself, and was sold for five guineas. It followed a very successful exhibition in August 1929, which marked Margaret Preston's return to less modernist concerns — a theme clearly reflected in the book as well.

**163** *Preston, Margaret, 1875–1963.*

Sydney: Ure Smith, [1949].

**Margaret Preston's monotypes.**

**164** *Proctor, Thea, 1879–1966.*

Sydney: Resolution Press, 1980.

No. 145 of an edition of 1,000.

**Thea Proctor: the prints.**

Thea Proctor also sought to develop a greater awareness of design as the structural basis of artistic work. She also frequently worked for *The Home*, and was a leading Sydney printmaker. Despite her prominence, and the continued strong interest in her woodcuts and linocuts, her lithographs remain practically unknown. The publication of this book was in part an attempt to review the full range of her graphic art.

## Artists' books and others

- 165** *Paterson, A.B.*                      **Song of the wheat.**  
(*Andrew Barton*),  
1864–1941.

Bondi: Written out and illuminated by Gordon Dalrymple Nicol, 1925.

Lent by the James Hardie Library of Australian Fine Arts, State Library of Queensland.

A unique meeting of ancient and modern book making. As a hand-written illuminated text, reminiscent of medieval Burgundian manuscripts in both technique and design, Nicol's version of Paterson's poem refers to the past. Yet at the same time it is a triumph of twentieth century Australian decoration, introducing skilfully crafted Australian flora and fauna into an archetypal Paterson text with great success. Other Australian Arts and Crafts Movement workers attempted similar books, but none were as successful as Nicol.

Almost nothing is known of the artist. Nicol was a New Zealander, working in Sydney in the 1920s, and probably born in 1894. A rare contemporary press notice refers to him as having studied at the "Christchurch School of Art", which is presumably a mention of the Canterbury School of Art, located in Christchurch, New Zealand. No trace of him has been found in that city, or at the School of Fine Arts at Canterbury University, the continuation of the Canterbury School of Art. Only a handful of his books are known to exist. This volume is in a fine Arts and Craft binding, by Morrells, of London. A facsimile of the poem is published by the National Library in 1988.

- 166** *Waller, Christian.*                      **The great breath: a book of seven designs.**  
1895–1956.  
Melbourne: The Golden Arrow Press, 1932.  
Numbers 20 and 39 of 150 copies.

A book created entirely by the artist, in a tiny edition. Christian Waller described her purpose thus: "each design a symbolic rendering of the impulse behind an individual Root Race of the present World Cycle". The book was at the heart of three years of intense creativity which followed her return to Melbourne after studying stained-glass design in London. While in Britain she encountered the theosophical Golden Dawn movement, an important source for her complex symbolism: the book owes much to the visions of Madame Blavatsky. She probably made only about forty copies, despite the edition statement of 150. The entire book, text and illustrations, is printed with linocuts: also exhibited is the block for her prospectus, lent by the James Hardie Library of Australian Fine Arts. The book was sold for three guineas.

Christian Waller planned a second book, this time with both text and illustrations drawn directly onto zinc plates, but only one copy of *The gates of dawn* was made. It has since been published in facsimile. Her self-imposed isolation after 1940 is

probably one reason for her comparative obscurity in post-war years: "I must be separated from all . . . One must be alone and know that the One within can meet all needs", she wrote in 1941. Her early work, such as the pen drawings in E. Atkinson's *The renegades* (1921), is Art Nouveau work reminiscent of Norman Lindsay and Aubrey Beardsley, but by 1932 she had achieved a strength and purpose which was entirely her own.

- 167.** *Barnett, P. Neville.*                      **Pictorial book-plates.**  
1881–1959.

Sydney: Privately printed, 1931.

No. 2 of 3 publisher's copies, within a de luxe edition of 103. Presentation copy to Harrie P. Mortlock, the printer.

- 168** *Barnett, P. Neville.*                      **Glimpses at Ukiyo-Ye.**  
1881–1959.

Sydney: Privately published, 1940.

No. 1 of a group of 3, within an edition of 11 copies. Presentation copy to Harrie P. Mortlock, the printer.

Fine books that are the result of a unique collaboration between an amateur book designer and a commercial printer. Barnett was a librarian, a New Zealander who settled in Australia in his youth and who for much of his life worked for the Bank of New South Wales. He was a collector of bookplates and Japanese prints, who between 1930 and 1953 produced a number of the most beautiful books ever seen in Australia. They were printed by the Beacon Press, in Sydney, and were illustrated mostly by tipping-in originals of the prints the books were about. Hence, when Barnett had only a few copies of a particular print, the edition size would vary accordingly. The five different books he wrote on bookplates had a total of about 80,000 original prints, all inserted by hand by the author. The colour prints illustrating the Japanese books were printed in Japan, using delicate vegetable dyes. It has been estimated that there were some 52,000 prints in the latter six books.

- 169** *Hoff, Rayner.*                              **Sculpture of Rayner Hoff.**  
1894–1937.

Sydney: Sunnybrook Press, 1934.

Deposit copy, out of series in an edition of 100.

Perhaps the finest book on an Australian sculptor, the fourth book of Earnest Shea's private press. The forty-nine plates are a rare example in Australia of collotype printing. The collotype process is perhaps the most satisfactory method of reproducing both monochrome and colour in fine detail. Printing is done from a glass plate prepared by printing a negative on a gelatine film containing dichromate. Although the technology needed is not particularly elaborate, it is a slow and costly method, more demanding of the printer's skill than any other process.

## Controversialists

- 170** *Lawler, Adrian.* *Arquebus.*  
1889-1969.  
Melbourne: Ruskin Press, 1937.  
Lent by John Thompson.

Australian art has produced its share of manifestos for artists, as well as grand books for collectors. This incisive polemic records the argument over modern art which led to the formation of the Contemporary Art Society in Melbourne in 1938. The dustwrapper design is by Eric Thake.

- 171** *Lindsay, Lionel.* *Addled art.*  
1874-1961.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1942.

An angry attack on modern art. Lindsay's hostility to modernism allowed praise of artists such as Margaret Preston, whose "restless temperament" was allowed to have "discovered new themes, new colour arrangements, new sources of design". Australian art was threatened by alien corrupting influences, which would destroy art here as it had in France, Lindsay predicted. "My faith today is only in the A.I.F. Australian Art is moribund and when Heysen goes the last of our significant . . . artists disappears", he wrote to the collector Philip Whelan, whose copy this was.

- 172** *Smith, Bernard.* *Place, taste and tradition.*  
1916-.  
Sydney: Ure Smith, 1945.

The history of Australian art that gave it form and shape. Smith proposed two major points: "that the important thrust of contemporary painting was towards a new realism . . . [and that] Australian art and culture possessed a native democratic tradition." As Richard Haese goes on to say: "these matters lie at the very heart of a longstanding and continuing debate in Australian cultural history over the fundamental question of an Australian identity and Australia's place in the world".

## Recent years

In the following few books, some of the ways in which contemporary Australian artists have used books as a means of artistic expression are presented. Many would agree with Maurice Denis, one of the pioneers of Art Nouveau in book illustration, when he declared that "a book ought to be a work of decoration and not a neutral vehicle for transmitting a text": and anyway it is a highly arguable proposition that there could be such a thing as a neutral vehicle for transmitting any text. There is a common determination that the pictorial element of these books must be taken as seriously as the text: that the book is an object worthy of the closest attention of the artist, and that the doctrine of

unobtrusive book design, summed up in Stanley Morrison's celebrated determination to make the typefaces he used invisible, is bankrupt. As Nola Anderson has put it, writing of contemporary artist books and designer bookbinding: "Our mass produced culture has taught us to read books at the expense of seeing them . . . in whatever guise, their creations are giving us back the visible book".

- 173** *Fairweather, Ian.* *The drunken Buddha.*  
1891-1974.  
St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1965.

Ian Fairweather's interpretation of a popular Chinese novel of uncertain authorship and date, which tells the story of the Ch'an monk Tao-chi. Chinese calligraphy greatly influenced Fairweather's art, and it had long been known that the artist, living a solitary life on Bribie Island in Queensland, spent much of his time translating Chinese works into English. With this book, Wallace Thornton wrote on publication, "an integral part of a man's aesthetic development is no longer a somewhat mysterious fable but is now an available fact." Although the twelve paintings are rather rigidly separated from the text by strong white margins, and are thus presented as reproductions of paintings rather than as images integral to the text, they are as graceful and spirited as the translation.

- 174** *Smith, Ivan.* *The death of a wombat.*  
Melbourne: Wren, 1972.  
No. 89 of a de luxe edition of 100, bound in buffalo hide, with an original pen drawing by Clifton Pugh.

First written in the 1950s as an award-winning radio script. Clifton Pugh's dramatic oil paintings and line drawings add a different type of contemporaneity to this powerful drama of death by bush-fire, as they do also to the other two books of the trilogy begun by *Death of a wombat*. "I see the text as primarily about conservation, a major concern of mine for most of my life . . . most of the work was done before Denis [Wren] even approached me", Clifton Pugh has said of *Dingo king* (1977), the second book.

- 175** *Friend, Donald.* *Songs of the vagabond scholars.*  
1915-.  
Sydney: The Beagle Press, 1982.  
No. 3 of 100 copies, with 14 original lithographs by Donald Friend.

Lyrics of the *vagrantes*, wanderers who sheltered in courts and monasteries at the time of the Black Death, translated by Randolph Stow. John Scott writes in the introduction: "It is fitting that this selection of lyrics by vagabond scholars should be published in Australia. For English is now the universal language, as Latin was in medieval Europe, and, like their forbears, Australians are driven to seek out new intellectual horizons by travel to distant places. It is surely significant that the artist

who illustrates these ancient poems lived in Europe, West Africa, Ceylon and Bali, while their translator has chosen England as his base. Excessive curiosity was condemned by medieval theologians; in similar fashion, some Australians tend to disapprove of their fellows who roam abroad. But the arts do not thrive on conformity and many artists have experienced what Baudelaire called 'an allergy to home', the need to taste the grass on the other side of the fence." The Beagle Press was founded in Sydney in 1980 by Lou Klepac, himself a widely-travelled art historian. The press has published a number of substantial exhibition catalogues, indicative of a belief in the continuing value of exhibitions long after they have closed, and an impressive series of art books containing original work by leading Australian artists. Thus Klepac maintains and extends a tradition that began in 1899. The book sold for \$2,000.

**176** *Amadio, Nadine.*                      **Orpheus: the song of forever.**

Spit Junction, NSW: The Craftsman's Press, 1983.  
No. 78 of 250 copies, with an original lithograph by Charles Blackman.

Charles Blackman's illustrations vividly carry forward this modern myth, which brings a song of medieval Europe to the Great South Land.

**177** *Olsen, John.*                              **The land beyond time.**

Melbourne: Macmillan, 1984.

A modern exploration of Australia's north-west frontiers by a painter, a photographer, a poet, a naturalist and a historian.

## PRIVATE PRESSES

*Printing is an adventure, a spiritual quest, and its books are only so many traces of the journey left by the wayside.*

Jürgen Wegner in *What is government* (1986).

THE TERM "PRIVATE PRESS" summons images of expensive leather-bound books made from fine paper, kept in safe storage and handled only with gloves. Australians have produced fine exemplars of this tradition, but they have also worked within a wider small press context, in which some of the classic books of Australia have been published without the assistance and capital of the mainstream publishers, and with the roles of author, printer, publisher and distributor being undertaken by one or two persons. These books, including many which would normally be labelled as private press books, are scattered throughout this exhibition: to separate them from the themes and subjects they explore would be wrong. Thus, for example, the outstanding work of Earnest Shea's Sunnybrook Press is exhibited in both the Arts Press sequence and the Colonial Australia narrative. In the Private Press section of this exhibition we look at just a few of the private printers of Australia, and one small press.

The distinction between private press and small press is definite, although they are close to each other on the publishing continuum. The private press printer is more concerned to be physically involved with every aspect of book production, and makes his or her own selection of text. The aim of the finest private press work is the loving interpretation of a text that the printer believes is important, whether it be available in other editions or not. Books printed simply to demonstrate control of printing technique, or just to appeal to limited edition collectors, always lack that source of aesthetic vitality. The small press publisher is a different person, although often with a similar commitment to the content of books. First, the small press is a commercial operation, subject to the laws of the market. Second, small presses sometimes grow dramatically, which a private press could never do because of its proprietor's aim to be involved at every stage of book production. McPhee Gribble, for example, began in 1974 as a two-woman partnership. By 1980 the partners estimated they had produced more than 2.3 million books in about forty-five titles. Third, small presses may or may not be involved with the actual typesetting

and printing of a book. Editing, design and wide distribution are more their concerns, as they are of any publisher, although small presses will often operate as jobbing printers at the same time.

The recent development known as desk-top publishing further blurs these somewhat arbitrary distinctions. Widespread access to personal computers and rapidly evolving software allows many authors to make their own design decisions, and to commission printers directly. The absence of a publisher's expertise is perhaps most obvious in the lack of stringent editorial control of such manuscripts, but the same technology allows others to adopt that role, and to turn manuscript into finished copy with minimal capital input. Whereas once a person who wanted to get into the book trade with fairly slender resources might have set up a bookshop, it now requires far less capital instead to publish a book and, if the problems of distribution can be worked out, to begin building from that base. Australian publishing has been strongly affected in recent years by this trend, as a new generation of publishers has moved away from large employing organizations into entrepreneurial roles, either as publishers in their own right or as packagers for other publishing houses, offering editorial and design skills which are keenly competed for.

Australian private presses have not by and large been able to call on the strength of a wood engraving illustrative tradition in the way their British equivalents have, although some printers such as Molly Quick and Margaret Lock have been themselves proficient in this field. Further, this country has not had anything like the input of the teaching presses of the universities of the United States. Yet a number of the presses which have been and which are at the present moment active in Australia have displayed a unity of typography and illustration, and a quality of printing, that is of international significance and which many recent artists' books lack. These books illustrate the point that successful book design rests above all on an understanding of type and its relationship with the page, not simply on stunning or rare pictorial imagery. The discussion of Australian private presses which follows begins with the work of two representative printers, John Kirtley and Alec Bolton, who stand at different sides of one of the divides in the tradition they work within. Kirtley strove for magnificent sumptuousness in his work, both with *Heemskerck Shoals* and with the books he printed for Fanfrolico Press. Bolton, on the other hand, produces sparsely elegant volumes, which make available the poetry of his circle of friends to a wide audience.

## John Kirtley

John Kirtley was, as Geoffrey Farmer puts it, "something of a fugitive figure in Australian literary history". A self-taught printer, associated early in his career with the Lindsays and a co-founder with Jack Lindsay of the Fanfrolico Press, he had a long period in the middle of his life in which he did no printing at all. His political activities led to war-time imprisonment with other members of the Australia First movement, an experience which perhaps deepened his need for solitude but which did not kill an ambition to produce a series of great books, for Australia. Assisted by Alister Kershaw and J. K. Moir, he set out in 1947 to join the circle of the Kelmscott, Doves and Ashendene Presses, the private presses at the heart of the English tradition of typographic masterpieces. "It is real printing I'm doing in the manner of old-time jokers", he wrote to one correspondent. "I want to do a series of fine books to try and establish *This tradition* in our native land, add to its civilisation, for posterity to cherish", he wrote to another.

The first of the great books (for a while he spoke of twenty) was an edition of R.D. Fitzgerald's poem "Heemskerck Shoals" (180), illustrated and with a hand-coloured map based on Tasman's map of 1644 by Geoffrey Ingleton. It took two years to complete, and although he finally succeeded in producing perhaps twenty bound copies that met his fanatical standard of perfection the effort wore him out. This was not just due to the effort of printing on his large old flat-bed press, which was considerable in such a large book, with six ink rollings required by each pull from the type, but also to the struggle to find and pay for suitable ink, type and paper, and to meet hire purchase commitments on his press.

The Melbourne bookseller A.H. Spencer promoted the book but sales were poor and Kirtley soon withdrew the book from him. The full eighty-five copies called for by the limitation statement were not published in his lifetime, although unbound sheets were many years later sold by another Melbourne bookseller, Peter Arnold. The printer Ron Edwards later recalled the results of Kirtley's demand for perfection: "Around the house were piles of unbound pages from the *Shoals* and he would use these to start the fire in the morning . . . . At a later stage I lined the floor with these sheets and put down a carpet, it seemed a pity to let him burn them all . . . . He had lived like a hermit for a year or more, rejecting hundreds of sheets for blemishes that no one else could see".

Three of John Kirtley's books are exhibited, documenting the wide range of his achievement. His exploration of the private press tradition included one of the great books of Australia: to conclude that it is at the same time a statement of a formal perfection within very narrow parameters is not to deny its power. His first work has a

spontaneity and vitality which is the very essence of private printing.

**178** *Wilcox, Dora.*                      **Seven poems.**

Kirribilli: J. T. Kirtley, 1924.

No. 23 of 125 copies. Presentation copy from Kirtley to George Robertson.

The hand-coloured illustrations were by Donald Finley.

**179** *Slessor, Kenneth.*                **Thief of the moon.**

1901-1971.

Sydney: J.T. Kirtley, 1924.

No. 41 of 150 copies. Presentation copy from Kirtley to George Robertson.

Kirtley's "humourousity", as he called it in this copy, was printed at Kirribilli on a Chandler & Price platen press. It has three original wood-cuts by Norman Lindsay and sold for four guineas.

**180** *Fitzgerald, Robert D.*                **Heemskerck Shoals.**

1902-1987.

Fern Tree Gully: Mountainside Press, 1949.

No. 6 of 85 copies, one of 10 copies on Arnold's handmade paper.

## Alec Bolton

Alec Bolton's *Officina Brindabella* stands for another strand within the private press tradition: finely printed and elegant books of poetry by friends of the printer, notable for their sympathetic illustration. There is no attempt at magisterial authority in his work, which until recently has been a leisure-time activity. His books speak for the continued vitality of skilled letterpress printing, on machines mostly discarded by commercial printers in the great transition to offset printing of the mid-twentieth century.

Bolton began with an Adana 8 x 5, a table-top upright platen press beloved of amateur and small-scale printers. He became an evening student of hand composition and letterpress machining at the London College of Printing, while working in London in 1970. In 1972 he bought a Chandler & Price treadle platen press and some Baskerville type, after returning to Australia to work for the National Library. Later he acquired a Western proof press. His first book was a sequence of poems by David Campbell, *Starting from Central Station* (181): "in many ways it was a flawed production", he later wrote. "From ignorance I used a handsome laid paper that was sized for offset and was hard to print . . . . I did not mix enough ink for the second colour in which the drawings appear, so that there are variations of shade. Yet I am fond of this work, and many lines from the poems are indelibly in my mind . . . . Printing is exciting to me. It is a rewarding and also a forgiving occupation. There is always

the wonderful prospect of the next book, and the next book is never burdened by mistakes that one has made in the past. You cannot say that of many things."

- 181** *Campbell, David*, **Starting from Central Station.**  
1915-1979.  
Canberra: Brindabella Press, 1973.  
No. 2 of 220 copies.

Illustrated by William Huff-Johnston.

- 182** *Rowland, J.R. (John Russell)*, **Times and places: poems of locality.**  
1925-.  
Canberra: Brindabella Press, 1975.  
No. 176 of 230 copies.

- 183** *Dobson, Rosemary*, **Greek coins.**  
1920-.  
Canberra: Brindabella Press, 1977.  
No. 26 of 240 copies.

With line drawings by the author.

- 184** *Dobson, Rosemary*, **The continuance of poetry.**  
1920-.  
Canberra: Brindabella Press, 1981.  
No. 248 of 275 copies.

Twelve poems for David Campbell, illustrated with photographs of his last property by Alec Bolton.

- 185** *Green, Dorothy*, **Something to someone.**  
1915-.  
Canberra: Brindabella Press, 1983.  
No. 204 of 230 copies.

- 186** *Neilson, John Shaw*, **Some poems of Shaw Neilson.**  
1872-1942.  
Canberra: Brindabella Press, 1984.  
No. 143 of 230 copies.

Selected and with wood engravings by Barbara Hanrahan.

- 187** *Riddell, Elizabeth*, **Occasions of birds.**  
Canberra: Officina Brindabella, 1987.  
No. 124 of 275 copies.

With drawings by Anne Wienholt.

## Other modern printers

- 188** *Friend, Donald*, **An alphabet of owls.**  
1915-.  
Melbourne: Gryphon Books, 1981.  
No. 119 of 150 copies.

Printed at Cobargo by Jim Walker, on paper made by Alan Walker at the Bemboka Paper Mill. Alan Walker has turned his share of a long-established

family paper-making business over to the manufacture of fine hand-made paper, aiming at both archival and fine arts markets.

- 189** *Longley, Dianne*, **Deanin's dreams.**  
1957-.  
Adelaide: D. Longley, [1981].  
Out of series in an edition of 25 copies.

"My work develops from a narrative source", the artist says. "The images produced serve to map-out both the intelligible and the unresolved experiences that occur on the journey through life. Most works are a description of either a perceived or imaginary adventure/misadventure into life's multifarious scenarios. The titles on my work help to reveal my intentions and unravel the mixture of complex elements within the image." In *Deanin's dreams* the etchings have been printed by the artist, and the text is handwritten by her.

- 190** *Lear, Edward*, **The pobble who has no toes.**  
1812-1888.  
Brisbane: Locks' Press, 1979.  
No. 12 of 60 copies.

Engraved and printed by Margaret Lock. Locks' Press produces one edition of a text, in about thirty to seventy-five copies, each year. "I begin with a text that appeals to me and then consider the inherent character of the text and how best to convey my understanding of it to a reader", Margaret Lock has said. She creates every part of her books, from illustrations to binding, achieving an impressive unity of printing and binding.

- 191** *Tolstoy, Leo*, **How much land does a man need?**  
1828-1910.  
Brisbane: Locks' Press, 1986.  
No. 11 of 65 copies.

The cover paper is made from kangaroo grass, by Katherine Nix, and the book is boxed in marine ply, which was also used for the wood blocks.

- 192** *Proudhon, P.J. (Pierre-Joseph)*, **What is government.**  
1809-1865.  
Sydney: Blackdown Press, 1986.  
Out of series, in an edition of about 20 copies.

A collage portfolio "produced by way of experiment by Jürgen Wegner at the Brandywine Press & Archive . . . to show that Australian private press books need not fall into the category of the intellectual's coffee table book".

## Edwards & Shaw

The firm of Edwards & Shaw is one of the few small presses in Australia to have begun as a private press. It began in 1940 as Barn on the Hill

Press, with three beautiful books hand-printed by Richard Edwards and Rod Shaw. After the war the partnership went into full-time printing, employing outside typesetters and printing magazines, exhibition catalogues and other small jobbing items such as Christmas cards, as well as continuing to publish books. Both partners were involved in leftist politics in Sydney, and much of their work sprang from that milieu. This was sometimes profitable as well — when they retired, in 1983, they recalled that they made more money printing dodgers for the waterside workers than they ever did by publishing poetry. Their nearly 600 books are distinctive in both design and the high quality of the printing they carried out and supervised.

- 193** *Field, Barron.*                      **First fruits of Australian poetry.**  
1768–1846.  
Sydney: Barn on the Hill, 1941.  
No. 60 of an edition of 250.

Care was taken to make this an entirely Australian book with illustrations printed from blocks of Queensland hardwood. Ten copies were bound specially in kangaroo leather, but the more common issue such as is exhibited here, with a heavy impression into the cover board, is undoubtedly more striking.

- 194** *Robinson, Roland.*                **The feathered serpent.**  
1912–.  
Sydney: Edwards & Shaw, 1956.  
Lent by Jürgen Wegner, Brandywine Press & Archive.

Together the poet Roland Robinson and the printers Edwards & Shaw produced several remarkable books. This is perhaps the archetypal one, illustrated with four serigraphic colour plates by Aboriginal artists. The plates were also published separately, and are exhibited also, courtesy of Jürgen Wegner. This striking format had been followed also in Robinson's *Legend & dreaming* (1952), which included three serigraphs.

## CHILDREN'S BOOKS

*Books are the greatest blessing out  
The grandest thing we sell;  
Books bring more joy, Books do more good,  
Than mortal tongue can tell.*

E.W. Cole, *The thousand best poems in the world* (188?).

**T**HE BOOKS READ by Australian children over the last two centuries tell us much about the world they grew up in. From the 1830s to the 1890s children's books display a slow discovery of Australian life and themes. For some of their authors Australia was an artificial backdrop, a stage on which to act out English concerns, and not a player in the story itself. Indeed, many of the books read by children were English. They, and a large proportion of the books set in Australia, were important in reinforcing the belief that Australians owed loyalty to two societies, one subsumed within the Empire of the other. Children's literature was no different from that written for adults in this, of course. There were however growing challenges to the automatic assumption of that loyalty, especially in the early decades of this century when the British call to arms ran head-on into another nationalism. Partly for that reason there was a significant emphasis on imperial patriotism in the many books that touched on the wars of the Empire, in South Africa and then in Europe, as there was in schooling generally at this time.

Late in the nineteenth century children began to act like believable children in these books, some of which were set in domestic scenes which came out of their authors' own lives. Perhaps this had to do with a rediscovery of childhood in every aspect: with a rebellion against the pressure to create little women and men. Social issues became more pressing, too. Whereas hard times might once have been sent to try the character of children, who would triumphantly overcome circumstance and sometimes birth itself, the children of today's fiction are likely to find their true selves within an adversity they cannot escape, not to find a way out with resolution and hard work. The fiction of our time does not rescue its children by sending them home to England, or by creating pastoral utopias in the bush.

Instead, recent children's writers and illustrators have made a rich cloth of fantasy, finding ways to interweave old and new spirit worlds, and to pop-

ulate the bush with much-loved non-human characters. Children's writers have tackled the strains and dramas of a multicultural society, as well as the full repertoire of the joys and sorrows of childhood. Just as the family sagas of Mary Grant Bruce and Ethel Turner brought city and bush childhoods together, across the generations and across great distances, the children's books of today ceaselessly reinterpret and rework the central questions of life, bringing the lives of others into the experience of childhood.

### The beginnings

195 [Barton, Charlotte. *A mother's offering to her children*. 1797-1867].  
Sydney: Printed at the *Gazette* Office, [1841].

The first children's book published in Australia. The identity of the author has only recently been established, the fruit of dogged detective work by Marcie Muir. Charlotte Barton went out to New South Wales as a governess in 1826, and on the way became engaged to a successful farmer, James Atkinson, whom she married in 1827. The couple had four children, whose slightly disguised names are those of the four children in her book. James Atkinson died in 1834, and at the time of publishing *A mother's offering* the author was probably living in Sydney, where she had gone when her second husband, George Barton, became insane. Marcie Muir has compared incidents from the book with those recounted in Charlotte's daughter Louisa Atkinson's memoirs, finding many similarities, and has discovered contemporary references to Mrs Barton and the publisher in the *Sydney Gazette* in 1841. The book is, as Marion Amies points out, an example of the genre of children's conversation textbooks, reflecting the importance of family conversation to education in the home in the nineteenth century. Amies speculates that "it emerged from her frustration at knowing that there were no children's books which presented the environment and experiences familiar to her own children": unlike so many of the later books read by Australian children, the Australian environment was all-important to the author's purpose. The carefully worded dialogue of this and other books, such as Louisa Meredith's *Tasmanian friends and foes* (198), was part of a process of imparting both information and values thought important by the family. Marcie Muir describes her as representing "those women of refinement and elegance who helped transmit

eighteenth and early nineteenth century English culture to the new world of the Australian colonies. Though they may often have left behind only a faint personal record of their lives, their influence lived on in their children, affecting our society and our traditions".

Children's books have traditionally been one of the few fields of writing in which women were encouraged, and it is not surprising that the first Australian children's book was by a woman. Nonetheless, it is fitting that this section should open with a woman's book, for the permission granted to the generations of women to write for children since by a slowly-changing society has produced much fine writing.

*A mother's offering* was published by George William Evans (1780-1852), a surveyor who went to Port Jackson in 1802 and who led the expedition which actually crossed the Great Dividing Range in 1813, unlike the Blaxland/Lawson/Wentworth team which did not cross the main range. He retired to England in 1826, but returned to Australia in 1832 and set up as a bookseller and stationer. The book emerged from a remarkable circle: Charlotte Barton's first husband, James Atkinson, wrote the first Australian agricultural text, and their daughter Louisa Atkinson was the first colonial-born woman novelist. *A mother's offering* predates later Australian children's books by a decade. It is one of the highspots of Australiana, and is of legendary rarity.

- 196** [Porter, Sarah, Alfred Dudley, or, The  
1791-1862]. Australian settlers.  
London: Printed for Harvey and Darton, 1830.

The first work of children's fiction to be completely set in Australia. Much of it was based on Robert Dawson, *The present state of Australia* (1830), an early handbook for migrants, and it was itself a classic example of the migration novel genre. This theme was developed endlessly throughout the nineteenth century. Even though it is set in Australia, the story is of an attempted recreation of England. The book's authorship is somewhat uncertain, but it seems to have been written by Sarah Porter, sister of the economist David Ricardo. There are at least three variant frontispieces, all being tipped-in in the text if not used as a frontispiece. The illustrations bear little resemblance to Australian reality, apart from the kangaroos.

- 197** Mason, Walter G. The Australian picture  
pleasure book.  
Sydney: J. R. Clarke, 1857.

The extremely scarce first illustrated Australian children's book. Mason based his 200 engravings on illustrations in Australian newspapers. It was perhaps intended more for "our young friends in England" than for Australian children, but in seeking to draw together from diverse sources a national portrait Mason was making a statement about Aus-

tralian pride and achievement still being explored by authors and illustrators today. The bookseller J.R. Clarke also advertized, in 1858 and 1859, *The Australian alphabet of natural history*, which would have been the second illustrated book for children, and the first with coloured illustrations. A copy of this has not yet been found, and it may never have been published.

- 198** Meredith, Louisa Ann, Tasmanian friends and foes.  
1812-1895.  
Hobart: J. Walch, 1880.

"A family chronicle of country life, natural history, and veritable adventure". Another of the genre of conversation books, this time with the father included, this was one of many finely-illustrated books by Louisa Meredith. By the time she published her first colonial book, *Notes & sketches of New South Wales* (1844), Louisa Meredith had become an accomplished author and book illustrator, for she had three titles in print in Birmingham before she emigrated. She was a fine wildlife illustrator, whose several lavish children's books contain magnificent examples of chromo-lithography.

- 199** Farjeon, B.L. The golden land, or, Links  
(Benjamin Leopold), from shore to shore.  
1838-1903.  
2nd edition. London: Ward, Lock, 1890.

A stock situation of a penniless family, five children and widowed father, joining their rich uncle on an Australian station, with a difference. The book's emphasis on the children does not destroy their youthfulness, and more than half the book is taken up with the decision to emigrate and the children's feelings about leaving England. Eleanor Farjeon was one of Benjamin Farjeon's daughters. Her own experience of an English childhood is conveyed in *A nursery in the nineties* (1935).

- 200** Cole, E.W. (Edward Cole's funny picture book.  
William).  
1832-1918.  
Melbourne: E. W. Cole, [1879].  
Lent by Joanna Hughes.

Probably the earliest copy known to survive of the *Funny picture book*, still in print a million copies later. This is in a presentation binding. Most copies of the first edition, of which this is probably the first reprint, would have had the familiar crossed rainbows on the cover. It was published for Christmas 1879, for the astonishingly low price of one shilling. There was little profit for Cole in this, but it helped the book to sell well, and as an advertizing gimmick for his Book Arcade it was invaluable. The *Funny picture book* is simply a scrapbook, clipped from Cole's extensive reading of English and North American periodicals and arranged by topic — a typical document of the Victorian era,

with little directly Australian content, except inasmuch as Australian urban life had much in common with that of the cities of Victorian England and the United States. At each printing Cole rearranged and added to it, before bringing out *Funny picture book number 2* in 1905. The formula still works: the first two, and his successors' own two *Funny picture books* continue to sell well. Cole's career is described elsewhere in this catalogue. Displayed is one of his other advertizing ploys: one of a series of plates he had made, all featuring the Book Arcade.

## The 1890s

- 201** *Turner, Ethel.* *Seven little Australians.*  
1872-1958.  
London: Ward, Lock & Bowden, 1894.

The book at the heart of the 1890s. Brenda Niall has labelled that decade as Ethel Turner's: "this was the decade of little pickles, little rebels, little larrikins and — instead of young Anglo-Australians — little Australians". Most of her novels were set in Sydney, in sprawling suburban families and their roomy weatherboard houses, where the children are most decidedly not good. Ethel Turner wrote: "If you imagine you are going to read of moral children, with perhaps a naughtily inclined one to point a moral, you had better lay down the book immediately and betake yourself to *Sandford and Merton*, or similar standard juvenile works. Not one of the seven is really good, for the excellent reason that Australian children never are". Although the rebellious Judy dies saving the General at the end of the story, it would be absurd to interpret that death as moralizing. If there is a moral to the story, it is to do with the children's father's inability to cope with parenting.

*Seven little Australians* was Ethel Turner's first novel, but by the time she published it she had had extensive publishing experience with two magazines run by herself and her sister Lilian, the *Iris* and the *Parthenon*. The original contract she signed with Ward, Lock, after some argument, still survives. Under it she was to be paid £15 for the story, plus tuppence halfpenny per copy sold. With the 1900 edition a four-page episode in which the children are told an Aboriginal legend was cut out, and has never been restored.

- 202** *Turner, Ethel.* *The little larrikin.*  
1872-1958.  
London: Ward, Lock, [c. 1905].  
First published 1896.

One of two autobiographical novels about Ethel Turner's family, perhaps prompted by a patronizing review of *Seven little Australians* (201) in an English newspaper. Her editor at Ward, Lock tried to get her to rewrite this story of a resourceful small boy surviving the attempted parenting of his brothers,

and to set it in England, but she refused. Her publisher also resisted her writing adult fiction, but after 1895 most of her books tackle adult themes for children.

- 203** *Turner, Ethel.* *Gum leaves.*  
1872-1958.  
Sydney: W. Brooks, [1900].

Successful art nouveau decoration and unusual design make this one of the most distinctive books of its time. The firm of William Brooks began publishing widely in the educational field in the late 1890s, and employed the artist D.H. Souter to work on book design and artwork. His cover is the only colour printing in the book, but the many black and white illustrations inside are equally effective. Much of Ethel Turner's material for this book came from her column in the *Town and Country Journal*, "Dame Durden's Post Bag".

- 204** *Mack, Louise.* *Teens.*  
1874-1935.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1897.  
Lent by Marcie Muir.

This is the author's and Angus & Robertson's reply to *Seven little Australians* (201): another realist novel of childhood, based on everyday family and school life in Sydney. Louise Mack was a contemporary of Ethel Turner's at Sydney Girls High School, where the two produced competing school magazines, an incident vital to the development of *Teens*. Louise Mack went on to work as a journalist in Italy and Belgium, where she was a war correspondent, and by the time of her death had published fifteen novels and other books. *Teens* was the first novel published by Angus & Robertson, part of the beginning of their move into literary publishing.

- 205** *Westbury, Atha.* *Australian fairy tales.*  
London: Ward, Lock, 1897.

"Australia! Hast thou no enchanted castles within thy vast domain?" A jumbled mixture of wicked witches and kookaburras, bushmen and enchanted princesses, there is little that is Australian about the fantasy here. Yet it was a brave attempt, part of the first wave of authentic children's books in the 1890s. It was illustrated by the English artist A.J. Johnson.

- 206** *Australian legendary tales.*  
2nd edition. Melbourne: Melville, Mullen & Slade, 1897.

- 207** *More Australian legendary tales.*  
Melbourne: Melville, Mullen & Slade, 1898.

"Wingless, and laughing birds, in exchange for fairy god-mothers, and princes in disguise" was K.

Langloh Parker's promise in her first collection of Aboriginal folklore. Although the original material was not intended only for children, and her aims were not entirely to do with that audience, her books have most often been read as children's literature. K. Langloh Parker (c.1855-1940), or Catherine Stow as she is more commonly known, collected her material from people of the Noogaburrah group while living in north-western New South Wales, and then attempted to reproduce exactly what she had heard. She was a niece of Simpson Newland, author of *Paving the way* (1893), another book with a progressive and decidedly unorthodox view of Aboriginality. Her stories were illustrated by an Aboriginal artist, surely one of the first to be published in book form of his own volition. A.G. Stephens dismissed the first collection in the *Bulletin* as "a literary curiosity — the prattlings of our Australia's children, which even in their worthlessness must have charm for a parent". The racism of radical nationalism could not afford to let its guard down for even a moment. Each book was published simultaneously in London, by D. Nutt.

**208** *Woggheeguy.*  
Adelaide: F.W. Preece, 1930.

One of the loveliest children's books of the 1930s, printed by the Hassell Press in Adelaide. The illustrations were by Nora Heysen, whom Muir speculates was influenced by Aboriginal art. These stories were collected by Catherine Stow at the same time as those in her earlier books.

**209** *Pedley, Ethel C. Dot and the kangaroo.*  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1920.

First published in 1899, and illustrated in colour for the first time in 1920. Ethel Pedley was a committed conservationist, who dedicated her book "To the children of Australia in the hope of enlisting their sympathies for the many beautiful, amiable, and frolicsome creatures of their fair land, whose extinction, through ruthless destruction, is being surely accomplished". A powerful fantasy of a lost girl being cared for by a kangaroo, *Dot and the kangaroo* is set in a real landscape, in which the reader is assumed to be comfortable. The story has become a fundamental text of Australian children's literature, often republished and interpreted by artists other than Frank Mahoney, who had illustrated this and earlier editions. The story has appeared as a video movie, as a cassette book and in braille, and has been in print almost continually since 1899.

## Tales of the bush

**210** *Dyson, Edward. The gold-stealers.*  
1865-1931.  
London: Longmans, Green, 1901.

A neglected story of real country town boys. Often the books boys were given to read were about adult

men, the models they should aspire to emulate or to be warned by. In general, Brenda Niall suggests, "the ordinary Australian boy had little to do with Australian juvenile adventure stories, except to read them".

**211** *Macdonald, Donald. The warrigals' well.*  
1857-1932.  
London: Ward, Lock, 1901.

The best of the north Australian romances: a romance of the conquests of British capital. "There is a Darkest Australia as well as a Darkest Africa, and the possibilities of one are as great as the possibilities of the other", one of Macdonald's characters announces.

**212** *MacDonald, Alexander. The lost explorers.*  
1878-1939.  
London: Blackie, 1907.

**213** *MacDonald, Alexander. The hidden nugget.*  
1878-1939.  
London: Blackie, 1910.

Another romance of the trackless desert, of a north Australia with all the possibilities of Rider Haggard's Africa, with a tale of the Australian goldfields. It is interesting to compare the imaginative accounts of the north presented in these books with those of a later writer such as William Hatfield, who knew the country he wrote of from first-hand experience but who was also writing as much for his native Britain as for Australian boys. The promise of a virile independence was still there, but it was to be won by pluck and hard grinding work, not as a result of discovering mysterious tribes of lost Aborigines and treasure.

**214** *Timperley, W.H. Bush luck.*  
(William Henry),  
1833-1909.  
London: The Religious Tract Society, [1908].

A turning point in the stock emigrant novel, written by someone with real local experience. Timperley had been superintendent of Rottneest Island, in Western Australia. His hero arrives in a settled district, where he has to learn the ropes rather than establishing rules for himself on a frontier: he has to become an Australian, rather than simply carry English values with him.

**215** *Macdonald, Donald. The bush boy's book.*  
1857-1932.  
2nd edition. Sydney: Cornstalk, 1927.

An Australian *Scouting for boys*, also by a veteran of the Boer War (Macdonald was at the siege of Ladysmith), but far less militaristic than Baden-Powell's handbook. It was first published in Melbourne in 1911, and taken over by Angus & Rob-

ertson for this edition, Cornstalk being used as an imprint by them at the time.

- 216** *Hatfield, William.* **Buffalo Jim.**  
1892-1969.  
London: Oxford University Press, 1938.

An adventure of settlement in North Australia, at the end of a time of youthful wandering. William Hatfield was a pseudonym for Ern Chapman, who promoted himself industriously as an interpreter of the Australian experience. His many novels mixed useful facts and first-hand knowledge with suspense and adventure, and were often set in the north.

- 217** *Bruce, Mary Grant.* **A little bush maid.**  
1878-1958.  
London: Ward, Lock, [1910].

The first of the Billabong books. Fifty years later it was still in print, albeit with a thoroughly grown-up Norah dressed in English riding boots on the dustwrapper.

- 218** *Bruce, Mary Grant.* **Mates at Billabong.**  
1878-1958.  
London: Ward, Lock, 1911.

- 219** *Bruce, Mary Grant.* **Billabong adventurers.**  
1878-1958.  
London: Ward, Lock, 1950.

Norah and Wally's honeymoon, searching for a treasure of opals and diamonds. First published in 1927, the novel challenges anti-Chinese racism.

Mary Grant Bruce was Ethel Turner's contemporary, and like her was also published in Ward, Lock's Australian gift book series. Between them the two offered their readers the archetypal Australian choice, of Sydney or the bush, "with Ethel Turner's ideal family setting a harbourside suburb and Mary Grant Bruce's the self-contained world of a remote cattle station", as Brenda Niall puts it. For two generations of readers, from 1910 to the 1940s, the fifteen Billabong books were a part of the real world. They are still widely read today, and many are still in print, despite being unpopular with some critics. Mary Grant Bruce's world was outwardly a masculine one, but within its limits boys and girls, later men and women, were almost equal mates, living up to an Australian egalitarian tradition which the author clearly valued. Her war stories are as zealously patriotic as any, but she was also able to exploit a rich vein of humour in ridiculing upper-class pretention and humbug in the books set in England (where she herself spent much of her married life).

Mary Grant Bruce began her career as a journalist in 1898, and edited the children's page in the *Leader*, a weekly paper with a large country readership published by the Melbourne *Age*. *A little*

*bush maid* (217) was first published as a serial in the *Leader* from 1905 to 1907. Prue McKay describes her as "an experienced and established professional woman . . . among the first women to take up the challenge of new options", and speculates that the idealized world of Billabong, untroubled by modern social quandaries, perhaps began as her own refuge from complexity. As a journalist she specialized in writing for women. In 1926, when she became editor of *Woman's World* for a time, she was described as follows: "Born of pioneer stock, she has lived in Australia's bush and in her cities until her work has become steeped in its atmosphere. Being a bushwoman, she understands the country woman's problems, and years as a journalist on a city daily brought her into closest touch with women's work and interests in the metropolitan areas".

## War

- 220** *Turner, Ethel.* **The cub.**  
1872-1958.  
London: Ward, Lock, 1915.

Ethel Turner inscribed this copy with the words "it is a holy thing to see a nation saved by its youth". *The cub* began a war trilogy, in which the son of a wealthy family who at first scorns the war eventually volunteers to fight, overcoming his initial failure of the physical examination.

- 221** *Turner, Lilian.* **War's heart throbs.**  
1869-1956.  
London: Ward, Lock, 1915.

"Australia, the child, has grown to manhood in a moment. Australia is now a patriot with his heart on fire" proclaimed a fiercely anti-German Lilian Turner. The book is a study of the benefits to women of war: "they stop thinking of clothes and parties and start knitting", as Brenda Niall says.

- 222** *Pyke, Lillian M.* **Max the sport.**  
d. 1927.  
London: Ward, Lock, 1916.

As befits a private school story, team spirit in the service of England and the old school come to the fore in this tale, which ends with the hero being recommended for the Victoria Cross. "St. Virgil's" is a version of Wesley College, Melbourne.

- 223** **The Empire annual for girls.**  
London: Religious Tract Society, [1917?].

Savage little tales of war and sacrifice: of a world in which, while men went forth to do their duty as Britons should, woman's share was one of "waiting and watching, of praying and working, as only a loyal daughter of the Empire could". Only the cover was Australian, and the contents would probably

have been similarly packaged for each of the colonies of British settlement.

- 224 *Bruce, Mary Grant, Captain Jim.*  
1878-1958.  
London: Ward, Lock & Co., [1919].

"Every one looked business-like, purposeful" in a London which seemed to have earned the war-time sacrifices of Australia.

- 225 *Young Australia's ABC of the war.*  
Lent by the Thyne Reid Australian Childrens Book Collection.

An anonymous, undated war-time production: "A is for Anzacs" and so on.

## May Gibbs and other fantasies

- 226 *Gibbs, May, Snugglepot and Cuddlepie.*  
1877-1969.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1918.

- 227 *Gibbs, May, Little Ragged Blossom.*  
1877-1969.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1920.

- 228 *Gibbs, May, Little Obelia.*  
1877-1969.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, [1921].

The best-loved books of Australia's most important fantasy illustrator. Two fictional characters in Australian literature have become part of the pictorial vocabulary of the nation: the gumnut baby and Ginger Meggs. Indeed, May Gibbs' work played a part in the accelerated development of a national imagery and hence of the nation during the 1914-1918 war. The five booklets and the postcards which preceded her books were sent to the troops at the front in tens of thousands and were tremendously popular in Australia as well — 125,000 copies of the booklets were sold between 1916 and 1920.

Robert Holden suggests that by the end of the nineteenth century the Australian bush could be used for the first time as part of a coherent popular imagery, for by then it was no longer an alien force to most white Australians — many of whom, as city dwellers, would have had only a very limited experience of the bush anyway. Then came the great upsurge of patriotism after the outbreak of war in 1914. At that time May Gibbs was much sought after as a magazine artist. In January 1914 she published the first gumnut babies, on the cover of *The Lone Hand*. "The launching of such imagery could not have been better timed", Holden writes. "There was a national and heartfelt sentiment that sought expression in patriotic symbols and images."

May Gibbs was a passionate conservationist, and the first professionally-trained full-time children's book illustrator to work in Australia. The combination was powerful and effective, particularly when she was herself able to play a part in the design of her books. Poor printing of later editions and her reluctance to exhibit during her lifetime weakened her impact in the 1940s and 1950s, but until then she had a powerful and lasting influence on how Australians saw themselves within their environment.

Also exhibited is a poster used in childcare education campaigns by the New South Wales Department of Public Health, and a number of the gumnut corps postcards of the 1914-1918 war, lent by the Thyne Reid Australian Childrens Book Collection.

- 229 *Lindsay, Norman, The magic pudding.*  
1879-1969.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1918.

The most popular of Norman Lindsay's images, much to his own chagrin. The story has often been told of the origins of *The magic pudding*, of the argument between Lindsay and Bertram Stevens over children's favourite reading. Stevens maintained it was fairy stories, and Lindsay set out to prove it was food. There is no moral purpose at all in this wholly male adventure of Bunyip Bluegum, his friends and their miraculous pudding: perhaps that is another reason for its success.

The first edition was promoted as a book for collectors as well as children, as its price of a guinea suggests. In 1918 Lindsay wrote to George Robertson at Angus & Robertson, telling of his embarrassment that "this little bundle of piffle" should be sold for so much when his serious work could be bought for twelve shillings. He would not have minded if it had been published as a children's book "at a price that would allow the kid to tear it up with a clear conscience", but announced as serious art, in Angus & Robertson's prospectus, "it has done my reputation a devil of a lot of harm". He may have been mollified by the appearance of a seven and sixpenny edition, which presumably could be torn up with a clear conscience. George Robertson had a summary made of the costs and sales of the book, after reading a slighting reference to himself in the Lindsay-Stevens letters he bought after Stevens' death: it shows that over 1,000 copies of the expensive edition and over 1,700 of the cheaper were sold. Lindsay was paid £150 for the drawings and £220 in author's royalties. Robertson concluded that he, as publisher, had made a grand total of just over £40 profit.

- 230 *Macdonald, Barbara, A new book of old rhymes.*  
Sydney: *Art in Australia*, [1920].  
Presentation copy from the publishers to George Robertson.

One of only two children's books published by *Art in Australia*. This lovely portfolio of traditional Eng-

lish nursery rhymes was the work of an English illustrator who came to Australia after the 1914–1918 war. She was a niece by marriage of Sir Rupert Clarke, who guaranteed the expenses of publication after Angus & Robertson declined it because of its awkward shape, according to a note in George Robertson's hand in this copy. The great rarity of this publication suggests that many of its purchasers used the individual pages to decorate their children's rooms, as was clearly the intention. Barbara Macdonald also illustrated the other *Art in Australia* children's book, Lee Ivatt's *Princess Herminie* (1922), which is faintly Australian in one story.

- 231** *Dennis, C.J.*                      **A book for kids.**  
*(Clarence James).*  
 1876–1938.  
 Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1921.  
 One of 12 copies with the dustwrapper bound in.

"Crashing in like a herd of brumbies . . . into the midst of this almost precious world of beautiful and amusing children's picture books", as Marcie Muir puts it. Apart from two Hal Gye drawings, Dennis illustrated his rhymes for kids himself. In January 1921 George Robertson wrote to him about the endpapers, asking for something that would teach "care in the handling of books. I have grandchildren who love and read and take care of them, and others who promptly tear them to pieces. Between these two sorts of "readers" there are, doubtless, those who play quoits with them. Keep the quoiters in view, please". The book partly came of Dennis' desperation as sales of *The sentimental bloke* (331) and its sequels died away. It has been republished at least four times since, and has been turned into sound and braille versions, alas without its wonderful urchin on the front board.

- 232** *Bancks, J.C. (James Charles).*                      **More adventures of Ginger Meggs.**  
 1889–1952.  
 Sydney: *Sun* Newspapers, Series 12 (1935) to Series 23 (1946).

Born in the 1920s, the cartoon world of Ginger Meggs is still with us. Ginger Meggs' story is about surviving in a tough urban world which somehow preserves orchards, fishing and swimming holes, and about learning the rules from adults as likely as he himself to solve a problem by taking a swing at it. Ginger Meggs was born in 1921 in the "Sunbeams page", a children's supplement to the *Sydney Sun* edited by Ethel Turner. Bancks' recipe remained recognizably the same from then on; frequent brushes with one or another authority figure; his father's ineffectualness and his mother's strength; and Ginger's tough, cynical resourcefulness. When he does surrender to sentiment, he is as likely to meet disaster as praise in consequence. It has been claimed that two million copies of the *Annual* had been sold by 1935, and that in the

1930s the comic was read by three million people every Sunday. The comic strip continues, preserving a safe, middle-class familial world, in which Ginger's mild larrikinism is easily contained: a world which knows little of multiculturalism and nothing of the women's movement.

- 233** *Outhwaite, Ida*                      **Fairyland.**  
*Rentoul,*  
 1888–1960.  
 Melbourne: Ramsay Publishing, 1926.  
 The author's copy, of an edition of 1,000.

The last of the great fairy books of Ida Rentoul Outhwaite. Ten years after *Elves & fairies* (147), public taste had changed and other Australian illustrated books competed for sales. It did not sell very well, was poorly received by critics, and marked a turning-point both in the illustrator's popularity and in her work, which had begun to concentrate more on animals and children.

Muir and Holden suggest that when the Outhwaites decided to publish a volume with the same high quality of printing as the Lothian triumph of 1916, they turned from the celebrated English picture-book publishers A.& C. Black to a Melbourne firm. The Ramsay Publishing Company were primarily high-quality printers, who published books on commission. They set out to create a companion to *Elves & fairies*, which sold for five guineas, compared to thirty shillings for the A.& C. Black titles. The book was advertized for sale by direct subscription rather than through bookshops. It is hard to gauge its success, but there was nothing like the triumph of 1916 and some copies may have been remaindered. Nonetheless, it was a great achievement of Australian printing.

- 234**    **Piper's music.**  
 2nd edition. Paris: L'Oiseau Lyre, [1934].

"Australia, known to be a country of music, will surely adopt traditional pipe making", Margaret Jones forecast in her preface to this collection of simple pipe tunes by Australian composers. With a few tools and a stalk of bamboo music could be put into the hands of "the working families, children, fathers and mothers to whom it belongs".

Louise Dyer (1884–1962) was the key activist in the foundation in 1921 of the British Music Society of Victoria, to which this second edition of *Piper's music* was dedicated. She settled in Paris in 1928, and with a 12-volume edition of Couperin established the *Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre* in 1933. It was "the finest printed music most people had ever seen, impeccably edited", in the words of the *Australian dictionary of biography* (1981). Later she began a series of fine gramophone recordings, some of which were tremendously important in the Baroque revival. This little booklet, published on the occasion of Melbourne's centenary, was bound in

paper printed to resemble veneered Australian hardwood, the material used for some of her more substantial books.

- 235 *Durack, Mary*, *The way of the whirlwind*.  
1913-.  
Sydney: Consolidated Press, 1941.

The last of the first wave of large-format children's picture books. It works as a successful exploration of Aboriginal culture, perhaps because, for the first time, there is a thought that it might be read by Aborigines. *The way of the whirlwind* was illustrated by Elizabeth Durack, who with her sister had been responsible for several other books based on Aboriginal life. These tended to be both sentimental and close to caricature, but in this case the powerful illustrations and straightforward narrative show none of these weaknesses. The book sold well, and was eventually taken over by Angus & Robertson, who produced several more editions.

- 236 *Wall, Dorothy*. *The complete adventures of Blinky Bill*.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1946.

Dorothy Wall's bush, as Beatrix Potter's countryside, includes death and guns as well as cuddly, mischievous small koalas.

## Surviving

- 237 *Phipson, Joan*. *It happened one summer*.  
1912-.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1957.

Sensitively illustrated by Margaret Horder, and well-designed, this is a classic pastoral idyll, in which a small English girl learns to ride and to cope with the dangers of the bush. She saves a flock of sheep from bushfire, earning the praise and envy of her male cousins by her pluck and resourcefulness: she is well on the way to becoming a true Australian country girl by the end of the book.

- 238 *Chauncy, Nan*. *Tiger in the bush*.  
1900-1970.  
London: Oxford University Press, 1957.

- 239 *Chauncy, Nan*. *Devils' Hill*.  
1900-1970.  
London: Oxford University Press, 1958.

- 240 *Chauncy, Nan*. *The roaring 40*.  
1900-1970.  
London: Oxford University Press, 1963.

An archetypal Chauncy trilogy, three stories of the Lorennny family, living in a hidden valley in southwest Tasmania. Although they have been charac-

terized as inward-looking and defensive, the people of Chauncy's novels are often at the centre of a wide network of friendship, relationship and mutual support. Children grow up and go to school and university, and then work outside. Nan Chauncy and writers such as Joan Phipson and Colin Thiele share an aspect of the pastoral tradition, and that is a stress on self-reliance, on community networks that get people out of trouble without the interference of outsiders. Nan Chauncy's novels also maintained another by now well-established traditional theme in Australian children's literature: a commitment to conservation and the preservation of wilderness.

- 241 *Brinsmead-Hungerford, Hesba*. *Pastures of the blue crane*.  
London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

- 242 *Brinsmead-Hungerford, Hesba*. *Beat of the city*.  
London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

City and bush again, this time explored by the same writer. "In Melbourne in 1965 the way-outs were in", she explains in *Beat of the city*, a sometimes moralizing tale that tackled the issues of gang warfare as well as the emerging counter-culture. Her first novel, *Pastures of the blue crane* (Children's Book of the Year in 1965) has survived better. The story of a lonely young woman and her battler grandfather who inherit a banana farm near Murrumbidgee in northern New South Wales, it is about more than an escape from the city. Questions of race are asked and answered, as Ryl discovers and owns her Pacific Islander blood. On a deeper level still the novel is about the meaning of life: "she saw life, that evening, as a bowl to fill . . . and she saw as her giver and receiver of grace this odd, tubby little man who was her grandfather".

- 243 *Southall, Ivan*. *Ash road*.  
1921-.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1965.

In contrast, the next Children's Book of the Year was a disaster novel. "Fire is the evil genius of the novel" Geoffrey Dutton writes, in the midst of which resonate emotions of fear, suspicion and incipient love. Three boys accidentally start the fire, and another grows towards manhood as he saves his grandmother.

- 244 *Clark, Mavis Thorpe*. *The Min-min*.  
Melbourne: Landsdowne Press, 1966.

Another story of an isolated family, but this time to do with the struggle against distance and loneliness, and with the stresses that produce school vandalism. This family lives on a railway siding on the Nullarbor Plain. Escape, when it comes, is to a longed-for industrial town.

- 245** Norman, *Lilith*, *Climb a lonely hill.*  
1927-.  
London: Collins, 1970.

Lilith Norman's first novel, another disaster story. Two children live through a car smash in the bush which leaves them alone, and learn that their survival afterwards is possible, despite their initial fear, when they discover their inner strength.

- 246** Thiele, *Colin*, *Storm-boy.*  
1920-.  
Adelaide: Rigby, 1974.

A tale of freedom and eccentricity, of love and casual cruelty. First published in 1963, and illustrated by Robert Ingpen in 1974, Colin Thiele's much-loved story was the basis of a remarkable film in 1977. It tells of a young boy, his father and his Aboriginal friend, and a pelican, living on the South Australian coast between the Coorong Lagoon "and the endless slam of the Southern Ocean".

- 247** Spence, *Eleanor*, *The October child.*  
1928-.  
Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1977.

A family learns to cope with an autistic child, who is sometimes uncontrollably violent. This was Children's Book of the Year in 1977.

- 248** Baillie, *Allan*, *Little brother.*  
1943-.  
Melbourne: Nelson, 1985.

The story of a Khmer boy, a refugee from Kampuchea, who ends up in Australia — where his long-lost brother is restored to him. *Little brother* has already been translated into Dutch, and will be published in Japanese as well.

## Modern fantasy

- 249** Wakefield, *S.A.* *Bottersnikes and Gumbles.*  
(*Samuel A.*),  
1927-.  
Sydney: Collins, 1967.

Fantasy written for his children by a farmer during the winter lull in farm operations, illustrated by Desmond Digby. The struggles between lazy, dirty Bottersnikes and resourceful Gumbles create a wholly convincing world, a complete mythology of the rubbish dump.

- 250** Sheppard, *Nancy*, *Alitjinya ngura tjukurtjarangka = Alitji in the dreamtime.*  
Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1975.

A Pitjantjatjara and English adaptation of *Alice in wonderland*, illustrated by Byron Sewell. The forty-

fourth translation of *Alice*, and the first version of that much-loved fantasy ever produced in Australia, it makes extensive use of Aboriginal tradition and imagery, as well as referring to other Australian themes.

- 251** Roughsey, *Dick*, *The Quinkins.*  
Sydney: Collins, 1978.

A different country mythology, this time concerning two groups of spirit people, the child-stealing Imjim and the whimsically benevolent Timara, and the Yalanji tribe, which "from the beginning . . . belonged to the beautiful country of Cape York". This book was one of several produced by the collaboration between Dick Roughsey and Percy Trezise, with whom Roughsey learned to paint.

- 252** Wrightson, *Patricia*, *The ice is coming.*  
1921-.  
Richmond South, Vic.: Hutchinson, 1977.

- 253** Wrightson, *Patricia*, *The dark bright water.*  
1921-.  
Richmond, Vic.: Hutchinson, 1978.

- 254** Wrightson, *Patricia*, *Behind the wind.*  
1921-.  
Richmond, Vic.: Hutchinson, 1981.

A powerful trilogy, telling of troubles of the land, the People and the earth-things and spirits, and of the journeys of Wirrun, a twentieth-century Aborigine called back to the ways of his people and Murra, a water spirit. Patricia Wrightson has said, in *The ice is coming* (252): "This is a story of today and of Australia. It is my own story, grown out of my thinking. Its human characters are my invention, but its spirit characters are not. They are the folk-spirits of the Australian Aborigines — not the ritual figures of the creative myths but the gnomes and heroes and monsters of Australia . . . I claim a writer's leave to employ them in my own stories in my own way". The Happy Folk and the Inlanders, White Australians, are largely irrelevant to these stories, but feature rather more in her best-known book, *The nargun and the stars* (1973).

- 255** Park, *Ruth*, *Playing Beatie Bow.*  
West Melbourne: Nelson, 1980.

A 1970s child time-travels to the Rocks of 1873, in another book which realizes the magical properties of the land. The story of a girl whose "inside did not match her outside at all . . . as with many other girls of her age".

- 256** Trinca, *Rod*, *One woolly wombat.*  
1954-.  
Adelaide: Omnibus Books, 1982.

A splendid counting book, confidently using Australian animals and plants in both natural and hu-

man roles. Kerry Argent is perhaps the first Australian illustrator since May Gibbs to have successfully anthropomorphized the Australian bush.

- 257** *Fox, Mem.*                      **Possum magic.**  
1946-.  
Adelaide: Omnibus Books, 1983.

Again, as with *One woolly wombat* (256), a thoroughly convincing use by Julie Vivas of possums as human characters, at home in the bush and on a fantastic voyage in search of the vegemite, pavlova and lamingtons that will make Hush visible again.

- 258** *Rodda, Emily.*                  **Pigs might fly.**  
1948-.  
North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson, 1986.

A winner in the most recent Children's Book of the Year awards, this fantasy of Unlikely Events Factor storms and their effect on the world is by a leading Sydney publisher.

- 259**                                      **Nursery rhymes.**  
Milton, Qld: Jacaranda Press, 1986.

Heather Potter's eccentric drawings bring this collection of traditional nursery rhymes brilliantly to life, showing that ancient sources of European inspiration are still potent in Australia.

## Limited editions

- 260** *Sibley, Irena.*                      **Rainbow.**  
1944-.  
[South Melbourne]: Gryphon Books, 1980.  
No. 42 of 67 copies.

Linocuts, hand-coloured by the artist, are tipped-in to letterpress done by Jim Walker on a Furnival flat-bed press at the Croft Press.

- 261** *Re, Loretta.*                      **Flying south.**  
Sydney: Collins, 1986.

- 262** *Re, Loretta.*                      **Flying south.**  
Author's and illustrator's dummy.  
Lent by the Thyne Reid Australian Childrens Book Collection.

With this dummy, Loretta Re and Aileen Brown had no difficulty in persuading Collins to publish a trade edition of their lovely book. Their own skills as makers of fine books are exhibited also in the de luxe edition they published after the trade edition went onto the market.

- 263** *Re, Loretta.*                      **Flying south.**

[Hawthorn East, Vic.]: L. Re, 1987.  
No. 17 of an edition of 45 copies, with original linocuts hand-printed and stencil coloured by Aileen Brown.

The cover and endpapers were also screenprinted by Aileen Brown, and the book was bound by Tony Anderson.

# COLONIAL AUSTRALIA

*"And I, on my part," I answered, "attach very little importance to ontological discussions of any sort. I prefer solid useful information to arguments which, after all, end in nothing. — My orders to Cadell were, to supply me with all the best periodicals, new editions of established authors, and other works of sterling merit, but none upon abstruse subjects."*

Henry Savery, *The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land* (1829).

**W**ITH THIS SECTION, we return to a beginning: to one of the texts with which Australian literature began, and to a chronological narrative which will carry through to Australia in the 1980s. Important as thematic exploration and comparison is, the underpinning of any history has to be a clearly understood chronology. With occasional exceptions, this is what is offered in these two concluding sequences. The history of bookselling and publishing which these books convey is contained in their annotation, and no attempt is made to summarize it at this point. The division into "Colonial Australia" and "Australia in the Twentieth Century" is somewhat arbitrary, and should not be read as excluding the time of responsible self-government before Federation in 1901. Nor do the books exhibited fit neatly into these categories: Henry Lawson, for example, straddles the boundary, and so his books are grouped at the beginning of the twentieth century.

**264** *Field, Barron.*                      **First fruits of Australian poetry.**  
1786–1846.  
Sydney: Printed by George Howe, 1819.

The first book of poems published in Australia. Barron Field was a judge of the New South Wales Supreme Court, who was perhaps as keen to gain the place of "first Austral harmonist" as he was a poet looking for a readership. His book was published privately, and circulated to his friends. Only three copies are held in public collections. Elizabeth Webby argues that his poetry has sufficient literary merit for the book not to be considered a vanity publication, and that it was a private joke between him and his friends.

**265** *Tompson, Charles.*                      **Wild notes from the lyre of a native minstrel.**  
1807–1883.  
Sydney: Printed by Robert Howe, Government Printer, 1826.

The second volume of poetry published in Australia, and the first by a native-born poet. Tompson was able to find subscribers willing to advance ten shillings and sixpence each towards publication: much of the poetry of the early years was never put into book form because the authors could not summon such enthusiasm from potential readers, and survives only in newspaper or broadsheet form, or not at all. Women writers found it particularly difficult to get into print. Surviving manuscripts of women such as Eliza Hamilton Dunlop, in the Mitchell Library, indicate a willingness to publish if it had been possible: her work was prepared for the printer, but never appeared. Similarly, Mary Bailey published hundreds of her poems in early Tasmanian newspapers, without ever producing a book in Australia.

**266** *Juvenal, Pindar.*                      **The Van Diemen's Land warriors, or, The heroes of Cornwall.**  
Hobart: Printed by Andrew Bent, 1827.

The first volume of verse printed in Tasmania, and perhaps Australia's first banned book. This was the copy the censor used, and has the offending passages marked: he was outraged by this humorous skit on the unsuccessful pursuit of the bush-ranger Brady.

**267** [*Wakefield, Edward Gibbon.*]                      **A letter from Sydney, the principal town of Australasia.**  
1796–1862.]  
London: Joseph Cross, 1829.

Actually written in Newgate prison, where Wakefield was serving time for the abduction of an heiress, this first appeared as letters in the *Morning Chronicle*, an English newspaper. It is perhaps the archetypal immigrants' handbook, espousing a complete system of emigration — a fantasy, based on a totally mistaken concept that Australia was uninhabited wasteland. Robert Gouger, the ostensible editor, was later the first Colonial Secretary of South Australia, the colony founded in accordance with the Wakefield Theory.

- 268** *Sydney Synagogue.* Laws and rules for the management and regulation of the Sydney Synagogue.

Sydney: Stephens and Stokes, 1833.  
Lent by the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

The rules of the first Australian Jewish congregation. The Jewish community in Australia was founded in 1788, when between eight and fourteen Jewish convicts arrived with the First Fleet: although it was not until 1820 that regular religious meetings began, Jews formed the best-organized non-British minority in the colony in the early years. The first genuine Synagogue, at 4 Bridge Street, Sydney, was established in 1837-1838.

- 269** [*Melville, Henry,* 1799-1873.] Two letters written in Van Diemen's Land, shewing the oppression and tyranny of the government of that colony.

Hobart: Printed and published by H. Melville, 1834.  
Lent by the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

Written by the man who published *Quintus Servinton* (41), and first published in his newspaper, these letters help document the struggle for a free press that took place in Tasmania in the 1830s. In the second letter Melville explains the Australian origin of the term "a marked man": all the colonists were listed in a book maintained by Lieutenant-Governor Arthur. "In this book those who have, by their political principles or otherwise, obtained for themselves the disapprobation of the Lieutenant Governor, have a double red cross placed against their names, and this is what is understood by becoming a *marked* man."

- 270** [*Bunn, Anna Maria,* 1808-1889.] *The guardian: a tale.*

Sydney: J. Spilsbury, 1838.

Long unknown, the author of the first novel published on the Australian mainland is now proven to have been Anna Maria Bunn, who came to Australia in 1827 and who lived at Woden in what is now the Australian Capital Territory from 1840 to 1852, and after that at St Omer, near Braidwood. So this is the first Australian novel by a woman as well. A tragedy of love, marriage, and illegitimate birth, it is not set in Australia and makes only passing reference to "a country, where society was divided into parties, dust blown as well as thrown in your eyes, children ran under your horse's feet, dogs lay about the streets, ladies talked of wool, and dressed like antediluvians; and one beautiful spot of land is styled Pinchgut, and another Longbottom." The speaker is to be Governor of this lamentable place, but dies: his feelings were perhaps not far removed from Mrs Bunn's own at the time, for she wrote at a time of trouble.

- 271** *Stow, Thomas Quinton,* 1801-1862.

Adelaide: Printed by A. Macdougall, 1838.  
Lent by the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

The first book or pamphlet known to have been printed in South Australia: a sermon by the leading preacher of his day in Adelaide. Stow was a Congregational minister who arrived in Adelaide in 1837. He was a firm believer in inter-denominational contact, and this sermon was preached at the opening of a Wesleyan chapel.

- 272** *Butler, Samuel,* fl.1839-1843. *The hand-book for Australian emigrants.*

Glasgow: W.R. M'Phun, 1839.

A change of clothes was necessary at least once a month on the voyage to Australia, Butler decreed. Few of the early migrant handbooks were written by people with true knowledge of conditions in Australia, and far too optimistic a view of life in the new country was painted by most. In the early 1840s men such as the unionist Peter Tyler were writing to their counterparts in Britain, warning them that all was not so rosy as it appeared in the emigrant handbooks.

- 273** *Melbourne Union Benefit Society.* *Articles and rules for the regulation of the Melbourne Union Benefit Society instituted in Melbourne, May 8th, 1839.*

Melbourne: Arden and Strode, Printers to the Society, 1839.

As well as being the first pamphlet printed in Victoria, of which only two copies are known, this is an important document of the early trade union movement. Members' benefits were to be dependent on funds: at best, with society assets of £400, a member with twelve months standing would receive £1 a week, after paying between two shillings and sixpence and three shillings a month dues. Another shilling a quarter paid for a surgeon. "Separated as we are from the land of our birth, from our friends, from all chance of relief from those numerous Benevolent institutions which abound in Great Britain, we can perceive nothing to cheer us in the prospect of sickness and adversity, except through our united efforts . . . Formed into such a society, we cease to be strangers and friendless in the land of our adoption."

- 274** *Australian Society of Compositors.* *Rules and regulations of the Australian Society of Compositors: established February 1839.*

Sydney: Printed by James Spilsbury, 1839.  
Lent by the Victorian Branch, Printing and Kindred Industries Union.

Only one copy is known to survive of this foundation text of Australian trade unionism. The first

Australian printing union was formed in 1835, and fell into decay in about 1838. This second attempt to protect the interests of compositors, an elite group within the printing industry who set the type, was centred on *The Sydney Monitor*, a vehicle for fierce opposition to the regime of Governor Darling. The only person named in the document was Peter Tyler, the Treasurer, a printer transported to Australia in 1821, who had been Secretary of the short-lived 1835 society: he is therefore the first identifiable union official in Australia, and this probably unique document is the fullest record we have of the beginnings of unionism in Australia. This work is not recorded in Ferguson, and has not previously been exhibited.

Although employers could be admitted to the Society as honorary members, they were not entitled to attend any meeting other than the Annual Feast. The business of the society was to regulate apprenticeship, wages and severance conditions. Not for the first time, Sydney had become an expensive place to live: "from the enormous increase in the price of most of the necessaries of life (house rent alone having nearly doubled), the want of a Trade Society has gradually increased, and been more and more strongly felt." Membership cost threepence a week, with a joining fee of five shillings.

This was the same weekly fee as that charged by the London Trade Society of Compositors, formed in 1816. London compositors had first been formally organized to protect their interests in 1801, and in 1834 over 1,500 compositors joined the newly formed London Union of Compositors, also dedicated to the defence and regulation of wages and the right to work for all who had endured seven years of apprenticeship, of "bodily and mental slavery to his craft". By contrast to these numbers, the Australian Society of Compositors was to continue for as long as it had at least five members.

**275** *Port Phillip Printers' Benefit Society.* **Rules of the Port Phillip Printers' Benefit Society: established in Melbourne, MDCCCXLIV.**

Melbourne: Printed by W. Clarke, *Herald Office*, 1845.

Dismissed in passing by most historians of the printing unions, the Printers' Benefit Society aimed to systematize relief for unemployed printers and to remedy "a most lamentable want of fellowship or sociality" amongst the compositors of Melbourne. "We are now settled down in the land of our adoption, and have made ourselves a home many miles from our well-remembered Fatherland. It consequently becomes the duty of us all, to contribute by every means in our power to the well-being of the country which we inhabit; and the only way of doing this is to have one general and well understood unity of principle amongst us." These sentiments are the very foundation of modern unionism.

**276** *Hill, Fidelia S.T.* **Poems and recollections of the past.**

Sydney: Printed by T. Trood, 1840.

The first book of poetry by a woman published in Australia. Little is known of its author, some of whose poems were "suggested by the singular reverses of fortune, which it has of late, been the writer's portion to experience", but she gathered an impressive list of subscribers before publication, and appears to have been one of the early settlers at Adelaide.

**277** *Arden, George.* **Latest information with regard to Australia Felix: the finest province of New South Wales.**

Australia Felix: Arden and Strode, 1840.

The first Victorian book, printed and written by the editor of the *Port Phillip Gazette*, George Arden. He arrived in Australia in 1838, and launched this weekly newspaper in partnership with Thomas Strode, only to lose control of it in 1842. He died at the diggings in Ballarat in 1854.

**278** **The Immigrant's almanack for 1842: containing every kind of local information.**

Melbourne: George Arden, [1841?]

The only issue of this almanac, compiled "for the use of the labouring classes" by John Stephen, assistant editor of the *Port Phillip Gazette*.

**279** *Sullivan, Benjamin.* **A prospectus for forming a British colony on the island of New Caledonia.**

Sydney: Printed by Kemp and Fairfax, 1842.

Lent by the Dixon Library, State Library of New South Wales.

Not surprisingly, by the 1840s Australians were looking to expansion in the Pacific as well as on the Australian mainland. Although Sullivan admitted that England did not yet possess the sovereignty of the islands "proposed for civilisation", he claimed the same rights over them as England possessed over New Zealand, and proposed an early show of force to overawe the inhabitants. That done, Church of England missionaries would be needed to take on the task of "conciliating the Aborigines to British authority and customs" — even though they and Protectors of Aborigines had failed in this task in New South Wales. The key, Sullivan believed, was to get to the children.

**280** *Chisholm, Caroline.* **Female immigration considered, in a brief account of the Sydney Immigrants' Home.**

Sydney: James Tegg, 1842.

Caroline Chisholm's first work, the report of her first attempt to set up a home for young women.

There were three classes of women emigrants, Caroline Chisholm wrote: strong country girls, light handy girls and do-nothings. There was plenty of room for the first two in Australia, where "girls of good character and industrious habits are required as wives and servants." Quite openly committed to a view of marriage as a practical arrangement of economic convenience, she advised men that "early in the morning is the *best time* to choose a wife . . . early in the day is the best time to judge of a woman's temper; but I wish this to be kept a secret." Although the wages for marriage were not spelled out, she was scathing in her exposure of the attempted exploitation of some domestic servants.

James Tegg, Chisholm's Australian publisher, belonged to a family which for a short time attempted to build a publishing empire based on London (where his father was based), Dublin, Sydney, Hobart and Cape Town. He set up as a bookseller in Sydney in 1835, at a time when there were perhaps three other booksellers in the city, founded a magazine in 1836, and then ran the Atlas printing office until 1842. Although he and his brother Samuel in Hobart had considerable influence as booksellers, it was as publishers that they made their lasting impact, carrying on the tradition established by George Howe and Andrew Bent of printing local works (James published over sixty books and pamphlets, and Samuel a dozen). Thus, in a reversal of the pattern of later years, Australian writers who at first had little opportunity to publish in newspapers were able to get into print in books and pamphlets. His two magazines attempted to publish local literary talent, but failed for want of copy and subscribers. Although they were also vanity publishers, the Teggs have a very real claim to having been the first Australian literary publishers, prepared to back their judgement with a degree of risk-taking.

- 281** *Murray, Elizabeth A.*, 1820-1877. *Ella Norman, or, A woman's peril.*  
London: Hurst and Blackett, 1864.

The only known copy in Australia of a vigorous attack on Chisholm and the concept of Female Emigration. Elizabeth Murray was in Victoria from 1855 to about 1862, and hated it. This minor novel sets out to demonstrate that Victoria was no place for gentlefolk: that class values must inevitably be surrendered there, and women either ruined or rescued by a retreat to England. Ella and Bella, the two central characters, each surrenders to one or other of these fates. The novel was reprinted by Hill of Content in 1985.

- 282** *Hodgson, Christopher Pemberton*, 1821-1865. *Reminiscences of Australia: with hints on the squatter's life.*  
London: W.N. Wright, 1846.

Another attack on Australia: a terrible snare, full of corrupt men only there to make money and where only the squatters were not vile. Hodgson's instructions on how to behave as a newly-arrived gentleman include unashamed accounts of treacherous surprise attacks on Aboriginal communities.

- 283** [*Duncan, William Augustine*, 1811-1885]. *On self-supporting agricultural working unions, for the labouring classes.*  
Sydney: W.A. Duncan, 1844.  
Lent by the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

An early plea for cooperative agricultural effort, along Fourierist lines. "We have vast quantities of unoccupied cleared lands of the best quality", Duncan argued, and men seeking employment who are both industrious and intelligent. Small-scale production by well-organized cooperative communities was the most efficient mode of production. No acknowledgment was made of the work of the Aborigines in keeping the land clear.

- 284** *Lang, Gideon Scott*, 1819-1880. *Land and labour in Australia: their past, present, and future connection and management.*  
Melbourne: Printed at the *Gazette* Office, 1845.

An Australian version of the Wakefield theory: so-called waste land should be sold to "realize funds sufficient to import as many Labourers as the land will employ, with profit to themselves, high enough to induce a respectable class to emigrate." Lang was a Port Phillip squatter, whose account of conditions in Australia is valuable, especially for its statistical material.

- 285** *Bonwick, James*, 1817-1906. *Geography for the use of Australian youth.*  
Van Diemen's Land: William Pratt, Printer, 1845.

One of more than fifty books by Bonwick, who was in Australia from 1841 to 1883, and one of the earliest Australian school textbooks. Although sometimes unreliable, and prone to inventing impressions of some of his works, he is still read today — particularly on the Tasmanian Aborigines and the history of the press.

- 286** *Angas, George French*, 1822-1886. *South Australia illustrated.*  
London: Thomas M'Lean, 1847.

This has been called South Australia's most beautiful book, and is certainly one of the three great plate books of nineteenth-century Australia. It was first published in ten parts, each costing twenty-one shillings. The sixty hand-coloured plates were altered considerably by the English lithographers: differences in interpretation of landscape which

show up even more clearly in the comparison of Sydney and London editions of Angas' *Six views of Ophir* (1851), an important pictorial account of the New South Wales gold diggings.

- 287** *Harris, Alexander*,  
1805–1874.      **Settlers and convicts, or,  
Recollections of sixteen  
years' labour in the  
Australian backwoods.**

London: C. Cox, 1847.

Hard as it is to sort out fact from fancy in Harris' various versions of his life in Australia, this is a valuable account by "an emigrant mechanic" who arrived in 1825. He spent the next fifteen years working at various bush jobs, and wrote of the mateship and egalitarianism of the bush, as well as of the cruelties and injustices of transportation.

- 288** *Landor, E.W.*  
(*Edward Willson*),  
1811–1878.      **The bushman, or, Life in a  
new country.**

London: Richard Bentley, 1847.

"We are two nations occupying the same land", Landor wrote of the Aborigines and colonists. A lawyer, in Western Australia for his health, he was open in speaking of his occasional misery alone in the bush, and outspoken in his defence of Australia as a fine field for emigration — provided one went there to live. Exaggerated ideas of the wealth that was bound to be won by emigrants would be disappointed. Although not particularly pro-Aboriginal, talking of "savages, mindless as the birds or fishes", he relied on the people he travelled with: it was always advisable to take an Aborigine with you in the bush "who can advise you where the pools and springs are situated."

- 289** *Duncan, W.A.*  
(*William Augustine*),  
1811–1885.      **Lecture on national  
education.**

Brisbane: James Swan, 1850.

The first pamphlet printed in Queensland. A well-argued attack on denominational schools, and a plea for a national system of education, by a former Catholic schoolteacher. Some of his comments attest to the great shortage of books in the early years, a shortage which extended well beyond the target of his attack. "During the first two or three years of my sojourn in this Colony I was in the habit of seeing a good deal of the working of the Denominational System", he wrote. "If you walked into a school, you would see on the forms or desks (where there were any forms or desks) a few torn catechisms; one boy would be sitting with a Vyse's Spelling-book, another with a Universal Spelling-book, a third would have Mavor's, and a fourth Dilworth's; perhaps, also, you would see a battered Testament or two lying on the floor; but, at any rate, one thing you never failed to see, and that was the striking fact, that not one child in six, perhaps, had any book of any kind whatever." The

pamphlet was based on a lecture delivered at the School of Arts, Brisbane, on 20 June 1850.

The career of James Swan, the printer and publisher, illustrates the opportunities that were available to an enterprising printer at the time. He went to Australia as a journeyman printer with J.D. Lang in 1837, and moved to Brisbane in 1846, where he was foreman editor for the new *Moreton Bay Courier*. In 1848 he bought the paper, selling it in 1859. Later he was Mayor of Brisbane and a member of the Queensland Legislative Council.

- 290** [*Spence, Catherine  
Helen*,  
1825–1910].      **Clara Morison: a tale of  
South Australia during the  
gold fever.**

London: John W. Parker, 1854.

In the nineteenth century many young Australians were educated in the home, often by governesses such as Clara Morison. This novel is also about the rivalries between South Australia and Victoria: although Spence was almost as concerned as Elizabeth Murray had been about the upset of the classes that had happened in Victoria after gold was discovered, she accepted Australia as a place to settle down in, and offered South Australia as a domestic haven in contrast to the world turned upside down of Victoria. Like Eleanor Dark two generations later, she is one of the rare novelists who takes women's work seriously.

Catherine Spence's difficulties in getting her novel published were typical of the experience of many Australian writers. She gave her manuscript to a friend to take to England, where a publisher eventually offered £40 for the book — reduced by £10 for the abridgement that he judged necessary. Many other texts were cut by English editors, and it was to be late in the twentieth century before Australian authors could expect to see proofs of books published in England. Because Catherine Spence wrote for an English market, and perhaps because she wrote about women left behind by men who went to the diggings, she has been ignored by many of the constructors of a literary canon in Australia.

- 291** *Carboni, Raffaello*,  
1817–1875.      **The Eureka Stockade: the  
consequence of some pirates  
wanting on quarter-deck a  
rebellion.**

Melbourne: R. Carboni, 1855.

Great Works! Carboni cried, as he wrote of the short-lived Eureka Rebellion of 1853 in this account of life on the diggings by an outspoken supporter of the rebel cause. Carboni had fought in the campaigns for Italian unification of the 1840s, and came to Australia in 1852. He was one of the twelve men charged with high treason and acquitted, after the Rebellion: he was then elected to the local court at Ballarat, and published his version of events at Eureka on their first anniversary, before returning to Italy in 1856. His book on Eureka has been

reprinted in several formats, and is a valuable document of that event. It was the seventh book of Earnest Shea's Sunnybrook Press in 1942, and in 1947 was published in the Dolphin paperback series established by Judah Waten and associates.

- 292** *Carboni, Raffaello, The Eureka Stockade.*  
1817-1875.  
[Mosman]: Sunnybrook Press, 1942.  
Library copy, of an edition of 150. Signed by the editor, illustrator, and the author of the introduction, H.V. Evatt.

Earnest Shea ran the school of printing at the Sydney Technical College for many years. This was the last of his seven major books, done as a leisure time activity (printing took from 1937 to 1942) on an old Albion hand-press in the cellar of his home. Each copy cost four guineas. The book was illustrated by Walter E. Pidgeon.

- 293** *Carboni, Raffaello, The Eureka Stockade.*  
1817-1875.  
Melbourne: Dolphin Publications, 1947.

This version sold for four shillings, in a short-lived imitation of the Penguin format. The cover was designed by Noel Counihan and Philip Las Courges.

- 294** *Lang, John Freedom and independence*  
*Dunmore, for the golden lands of*  
1799-1878. *Australia.*  
2nd edition. Sydney: Printed by F. Cunninghame,  
1857.

Lang's last book, in which he demanded to know of what possible benefit it could be "that we, the people of Australia . . . should have some rotten limb of the British aristocracy . . . to rule over us, instead of a man of our own choice".

- 295** *Atkinson, Louisa, Gertrude, the emigrant: a*  
1834-1872. *tale of colonial life.*  
Sydney: J.R. Clarke, 1857.

The first novel by a woman born in Australia. It was first published in twenty-five threepenny parts, and then issued in bound form: over the next fifteen years six more novels appeared, all but one appearing first as serials in *The Sydney Mail*. Gertrude, another governess suffering hard times, eventually finds true love and, more importantly, the haven of a secure family. Louisa Atkinson came of remarkable parents: her mother, Charlotte Barton, wrote Australia's first children's book (195), and her father, James Atkinson, wrote the first substantial book on Australian agriculture (126).

- 296** *Stewart, William. Health in Australia; and*  
*how to preserve it.*  
Geelong: T. Higgins, 1861.

Stewart believed, after twenty-five years residence in "Tasmania and Australia", that insanity was

more prevalent in Australia than anywhere else in the world: "nine-tenths being due to illicit liquor containing poisonous ingredients such as tobacco juice, sulphuric acid, helebore, mezereon, copperas, grains of paradise etc."

- 297** *Degotardi, Johann The art of printing in its*  
*Nepomuk, various branches.*  
1823-1882.  
Sydney: J. Degotardi, 1861.

The first work published on the art of printing in Australia. Degotardi, who came to Australia in 1853, was also a pioneer in the association of printing with photography. Only three copies are known to exist of this book, which was entirely an Australian production, "the type having been cast in Sydney." Degotardi also published a short-lived monthly magazine, *The Spirit of the Age* (1855-1856) and a weekly German-language newspaper, the *Australische Deutsche Zeitung* (1856-1858).

Degotardi's travels as a young printer, from his early training in Graz, Styria, through Germany, Switzerland, France and Denmark, and to London before his departure for Australia, are a reminder that printers for long maintained the craft guild tradition of wide journeying. In 1840 Ludwig Leichhardt wrote to his parents: "Do you remember how I used to long to go abroad? At Göttingen I wanted to become a printer, simply to be able to travel". The craft was also one in which there was little job security, but it was more possible for an employed printer to become a proprietor, once he had acquired an old press and a few founts of type, than in many other trades. In Victoria in the 1850s, during a time of great prosperity for printers, at least thirty Melbourne compositors became newspaper proprietors. As Hagan puts it: "Wherever a gold rush set in, the printer soon arrived, with a fount of type in his luggage and a Columbian, Cope or Albion [press] in a bullock dray that followed a week behind".

- 298** *Gill, S.T. (Samuel The Australian sketchbook.*  
*Thomas),*  
1818-1880.  
Melbourne: Hamel & Ferguson, 1865.

Gill's most famous volume, and his last, contrasts most powerfully the life of the Aborigines and that of the white settlers. Gill arrived in South Australia in 1839, but did not publish his first illustrated book until 1851, after following the gold rush to Victoria. *The Australian sketchbook* is an outstanding example of lithographic printing in colour, which at first was nearly always crude and garish, and serves as a reminder that Melbourne printers were technically very competent by this time. The demand for accurate land survey maps gave particular impetus to the development of lithography, a method of surface printing from stone or ink, and the discovery of photolithography, whereby a pho-

tographic negative was transferred directly to the lithographic stone, took place in Melbourne in 1859.

- 299** *Guérard, Eugene von,* 1812–1901. *Eugène von Guérard's Australian landscapes.*  
Melbourne: Hamel & Ferguson, [1867].

The last of the great Australian plate books, printed in Australia, with twenty-four hand-coloured lithographed plates based on von Guérard's paintings, drawn on the stone by von Guérard himself. Jonathan Wantrup comments that "by the 1870s the role of the topographic plate book was being replaced by the still novel photograph album which offered both a cheaper and more faithful representation of far-off and familiar places."

- 300** *[Cole, E. W. (Edward William),* 1832–1918]. *The real place in history of Jesus and Paul.*  
Melbourne: E.W. Cole, [1867].

Published under the pseudonym "Edwic", this was the book from which the entire Cole bookselling and publishing empire grew. The book began life in 1866 as the first number in a pamphlet series, "Information for the People on the Religions of the World", published by Cole himself, after being rejected by the only serious publisher of the day, George Robertson of Melbourne. Selling his pamphlet door-to-door gave Cole the idea of second-hand bookselling, and in September 1865 he wheeled a barrow of old books into Bourke Street. From this grew the largest bookshop in Australia and a string of books, some original but most pastiches borrowed from English and North American sources. Cole was a rationalist, who believed Jesus and Paul were simply "two honest visionaries". He was able to afford the printing of the whole book in 1868, and had it done by a fellow member of the free-thinking Eclectic Association, Robert Bell.

- 301** *Cole, E.W. (Edward William),* 1832–1918. *Cyclopaedia of short prize essays on the federation of the whole world.*  
Melbourne: E.W. Cole, [1891].

In 1890 Cole offered a prize of £10 each for the best five essays in favour of and the best five essays against world federation, in which he firmly believed. He also had no doubt English would be the universal language of world federation, a belief which underpinned his selection of items for the anthologies in his Federation of the World Library, such as *The best song book in the world* (189–?). Cole's unorthodox political opinions also ran to questions of race relations: his *Better side of the Chinese character*, published in its fullest form in 1918, was a serious collection of evidence meant to show that "the Chinaman, like unto ourselves, is a human being, and that, taken all in all, he is

not a bad sort of human being, but much better than he has been generally represented".

- 302** *Kendall, Henry,* 1839–1882. *Leaves from Australian forests.*  
Melbourne: George Robertson, 1869.

"A book that was Australian in a sense which no other book had been", according to Green: the second volume by the first poet to whom at least part of the face of Australia was revealed. George Robertson and his friend Samuel Mullen arrived in Melbourne on the same day in 1852 as E.W. Cole. All three were to become important booksellers, Robertson beginning on the wharf as he landed with a case of books that were quickly sold. His first publication was a sermon in 1855, by which time he had become the leading bookseller in Australia, building up a huge wholesale business with country booksellers to whom he granted extensive credit. In 1867 he published Adam Lindsay Gordon's *Sea spray and smoke drift*, and then two years later Kendall's book, on which he lost £90 and which was remaindered in 1870.

- 303** *Howell, W. May.* *The diggings and the bush.*  
London: W.M. Howell, 1869.

An authentic account of the diggings by a woman, of whom almost nothing is known. "Drink! why, we all drink! what else have we to care for?" cries one of her heroes. "It excites us, and drowns the memory of the past. This and books are our only resources".

- 304** *Clarke, Marcus,* 1846–1881. *His natural life.*  
Melbourne: George Robertson, 1874.  
Lent by the La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria.

The true face of a convict system that was still within the living memory of many Australians was again seen in Clarke's savage story. This copy was used by Clarke's friend and critic J.J. Shillinglaw, who annotated it extensively while preparing a newspaper review. Written on the endpapers are his final comments: "Ah! it is easy to find fault with it — to curse & scold at it — to shudder at it — to get frightened and shiver and want brandy & water over it — nay — even to cry over it — to tear it to pieces (agreeable task) — But to write it . . ."

*His natural life* was extensively revised after its first publication as a serial in the *Australian Journal*, from 1870 to 1872, for publication as a book. In 1875 Clarke revised it yet again for publication as a three-decker novel in England, where it had been bought subject to him changing the ending to a happy one, which he did by keeping Rufus Dawes alive and providing him with an adopted daughter, the child of his beloved Sylvia. Although it was not

particularly successful as a three-decker (the standard format for fiction in nineteenth-century England, particularly for the subscription library market), the subsequent one-volume version put out by the same publisher, Richard Bentley & Son in association with George Robertson of Melbourne in 1878, sold at a reasonable rate in England and Australia. In the mid-1880s demand in Australia greatly increased, after Marcus Clarke's early death, and Ian McLaren's bibliography of Marcus Clarke records twelve printings of the cheap one-volume edition restricted to Australian sales, totalling more than 41,000 copies. The title was changed to *For the term of his natural life* in 1882, in the fourth edition. It was thus substantially the 1875 English text which became the standard form of a novel claimed by many as the great Australian novel, and not the significantly different Australian text. The fully unabridged text of the original serial was not republished until 1970, a century after its first appearance.

- 305** *Evans, G.C.*                      **Stories told around the camp fire.**  
Sandhurst, Vic.: J.G. Edwards, Bendigo Independent Office, 1881.

Compiled from the notebook of Mr Daniel Digwell, Honorary Secretary to the Bull Dog Literary Society, these tall tales and amazing fireside yarns of life on the diggings are ostensibly the minutes of a literary dining club on the diggings.

- 306**                                      **Willmet's Northern Queensland almanac & directory: miners, settlers and sugar planters' companion for 1885.**  
Townsville: T. Willmet, 1885.

Almanacs and directories remained important sources of information throughout the nineteenth century. In sparsely settled Queensland the isolation of the early years of the southern colonies was repeated: there was a need for reliable local information, available in up-to-date form only to local printers. A thousand miles (over 1,600 km) away from the capital, the official world of North Queensland centred on the small port of Townsville. Each issue of Willmet's almanac carried advice for new settlers, usually urging a rapid departure from Brisbane to the bush.

- 307**                                      **Narrative of the expedition of the Australian Squadron to the south-east coast of New Guinea, October to December, 1884.**  
Sydney: Government Printer, 1885.

Australian pressure for annexation of New Guinea was a major statement of emerging Australian nationalism, and this magnificent documentation of the naval expedition that established a so-called

protectorate in 1884 was designed to emphasize the Australian contribution to Imperial action. The most lavish example in Australian publishing history of an edition in which each book is illustrated by original photographs, Robert Holden has commented that it marks the displacement of the colour plate book by a genre which replaced romance with reality and interpretation with integrity. It is the first document of Australian photo journalism.

- 308** *Caire, N.J. (Nicholas John)*      **Victorian views, 1837-1918.**  
Melbourne, 1905.

A photographic album presented, in this instance, to the retiring Director of the Victorian Department of Agriculture in 1905. Nicholas Caire went to South Australia in 1858, with his emigrant family. His father was an agricultural labourer from Guernsey. Caire started out as a photographer in Adelaide in 1867, specializing in the popular small portraits known as *cartes de visite*. Later he went to Victoria, at first working as a photographer on the gold diggings.

In the 1880s Caire began to specialize in landscape work, and also to use his photography as a contribution to campaigns for fitness and diet reform, after being cured of long-standing stomach troubles by giving up tea. He became an enthusiast for the bush, a conservationist increasingly concerned by the destruction of the Victorian forests. He had long been willing to endure laborious struggles through the rain forest loaded down with cumbersome equipment in order to photograph the romantic and spectacular sights that appealed to him. In the latter part of his career his work contributed greatly to an increasing awareness of the bush amongst city people, and in particular to the popularity of day-tripping excursions from Melbourne. There are often people in his landscapes, but they can be hard to find: for Caire, harmony with nature was all-important, whereas domination of nature was a desecration.

- 309**                                      **Australian etiquette: or the rules and usages of the best society in the Australian colonies.**  
Sydney: D.E. McConnell, 1885.

The model for many books on etiquette, perhaps not always so conscious that new rules had to be found to fit a different society from that of England.

- 310** *Steel, H. Peden (Hugh Peden)*      **A crown of wattle.**  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1888.

The first book published by Angus & Robertson. George Robertson the younger was one of the elemental forces in the making of Australian books from the 1890s until 1932. Although he wrote no

book of his own, and claimed always that his heart was in bookselling, his editorial and entrepreneurial role brought many of the great books of Australia to life. In 1916 he wrote to C.J. Dennis, casting scorn on the modern British publisher in words that reveal much of his own policy and practice: "the publisher is a mere University man nowadays — in his grandfather's time he was a more-than-usually wideawake Bookseller, who knew all the tricks of THE TRADE, and delighted in making his rivals sell his books for him."

The partnership of Angus & Robertson was formed in 1886. Both David Angus and George Robertson had worked in the Sydney branch of the Melbourne firm established by the senior George Robertson (no relation), and both had served their time as apprentice booksellers in Scotland. Unlike his namesake in Melbourne, George Robertson of Sydney came to identify completely with his adopted land. Sometimes this led to trouble and strife with authors who could not accept being "only an instrument in the hands of a man whose desire was to do something big for Australia." Many of the books in the present exhibition came to the National Library of Australia from George Robertson's own library, via the collection of his son-in-law, John Ferguson.

- 311** *Cambridge, Ada.*      **A marked man: some**  
1844–1926.                      **episodes in his life.**  
London: Pandora, 1987.

First published as a serial in the *Age* in 1888 and 1889 under the title "A black sheep", and then as a book in three editions in the 1890s, *A marked man* has now been brought back into print. Ada Cambridge's best novel, it is a forthright challenge to the conventional morality of the day, denouncing the trap of unbreakable marriage ties. It earned far more for the author as a newspaper serial than as a book, and can truly be said to have been written for an Australian readership, despite the London imprint of two out of three of the early editions. Ada Cambridge, like other feminist writers such as Catherine Spence, was able to find an outlet for her talent in Australian periodicals far more readily than in books: much still has to be done to recover this hidden literature of the nineteenth century.

- 312** *Burston, G.W., and*      **Round about the world on**  
*Stokes, H.R.*                      **bicycles.**  
Melbourne: George Robertson, 1890.

Hardly today's cycle-tourers — "in leather belts worn around the waist we had stuck our revolvers, ammunition, and nickel-plated wrenches. We are thus armed, in case an emergency should arise in out-of-the-way districts" — and this for the journey through Victoria! Most of their shooting was at wallabies and goannas, it turned out.

- 313** *Paterson, A.B.*              **The man from Snowy River**  
*(Andrew Barton),*              **and other verses.**  
1864–1941.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1895.  
No. 4 of the special edition of 25 copies on large paper.

The book with which Angus & Robertson began regular publishing. *The Man from Snowy River* was published in October 1895, and within four months over 5,000 copies had been sold, proving that Australian poetry had a ready market. Apart from the poetry itself, three factors were important: efficient Angus & Robertson distribution throughout the eastern colonies; a handsome format, with printing equal to the best of British letterpress work; and quick recognition of poetry which had already been published in the *Bulletin*. J.F. Archibald of the *Bulletin* created a vast network of writers and readers, who responded eagerly to his optimistic invitation: "Every man can write at least one good book; every man with brains has at least one good story to tell; every man, with or without brains, moves in a different circle and knows things unknown to any other man . . . Mail your work to the *Bulletin*, which pays for accepted matter."

# AUSTRALIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

*A book is like an organic machine in a production line of other machines: conceived in a typewriter, gestated in a publishing house, born on a press, consumed in the press, read by people who have been through the schooling machine. It can pick you up in one thinking spot and take you to another one. It's like a ute.*

Stephen Muecke, in *Reading the country* (1984).

- 314** *Lawson, Henry,* 1867-1922. **Short stories in prose and verse.**  
Sydney: L. Lawson, 1894.

Henry Lawson's first book. It was "an attempt to publish, in Australia, a collection of sketches and stories at a time when everything Australian, in the shape of a book, must bear the imprint of a London publishing firm before our critics will condescend to notice it, and before the 'reading public' will think it worth its while to buy nearly so many copies as will pay for the mere cost of printing a presentable volume." The stories had originally been written for the *Bulletin*, *Worker*, *Truth*, *Antipodean Magazine* and the *Brisbane Boomerang*.

- 315** *Lawson, Henry,* 1867-1922. **In the days when the world was wide and other verses.**  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1896.

One of two copies with the full dedication to J. F. Archibald of the *Bulletin*, "a good friend to Australian writers." There was also a limited edition of 50 copies on large paper, but this was the edition that people bought, uniform with the general trade edition of Banjo Paterson's *Man from Snowy River*.

- 316** *Lawson, Henry,* 1867-1922. **Joe Wilson's mates.**  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1914.

- 317** *Lawson, Henry,* 1867-1922. **Selected poems of Henry Lawson.**  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1918.

No. 1 of 75 copies, signed by the author. The dedication copy, inscribed to George Robertson, "whose Splendid Generosity, Great Forbearance and Literary help, through many years, made it possible for me to publish anything that is good in my work."

- 318** *Lawson, Henry,* 1867-1922. **The auld shop & the new.**  
[Sydney]: Printed for private circulation, 1923.  
No. 30 of 75 copies.

Robertson had Lawson's poem about his bookshop printed after the poet's death. Most copies were given to friends and employees, and only rarely does a copy come onto the market.

This small Lawson collection illustrates something of the process whereby a writer and a publisher together created a legend. Lawson is no longer the spokesman for a generation of Australian men, and he perhaps never spoke for women — although his poem "Past carin'" lives in the repertoire of at least one woman folksinger to the present day. In his day, and for long after his slow decline into alcoholism had taken away his ability to fend for himself, he was a writer who could relate the lives and tragedies of ordinary Australians in a way that was completely new: that had as much to do with the oral tradition of the bush as it had with the literary nationalism of the *Bulletin*, and which challenged the romanticism of a writer such as Paterson with an often bitter realism. His end was tragic. Manning Clark has likened Lawson's life to Munch's painting *The Scream*, as "an outward and visible sign to all of us [of] what would happen if we continued to worship the 'idols of a corrupt heart'".

Lawson's earliest successes were in the *Bulletin*. His first book was published by his mother, whose own long struggle for an independent print-voice and for a literary life away from the diggings was the foundation of his development as a writer. Later he repudiated the volume, claiming that the printing was of execrable quality and that he had never agreed to the sale of advertizing pages in the book. Be that as it may, his debt to her was large. Louisa Lawson founded *The Dawn* in 1888. It was Australia's first women's magazine, and was printed by women printers (who also printed Henry Lawson's first book). In *The Dawn* she campaigned for female suffrage and for women's refuges, and urged women to simplify their lifestyles so as to win independence from men. She had set up a boarding house on first going to Sydney in 1883, close to the Government Printing Office and used by its employees. That experience may have stimulated her own involvement with print, and perhaps it influenced her son, who joined her in 1884. Certainly her enthusiastic involvement with a Free-thinking group which met at her house in 1886 and 1887 had its effect on him: his first contribution to the *Bulletin*, "Sons of the south" was a reaction to

a stacked public meeting in which Empire loyalists overwhelmed the call of free-thinkers and other radicals for a boycott of jubilee celebrations for Queen Victoria:

*Sons of the South, make choice between*

*(Sons of the South, choose true)*

*The Land of Morn and the Land of E'en,*

*The Old Dead Tree and the Young Tree Green*

The words live today, in the title of Manning Clark's final volume in his magisterial *History of Australia* (385).

Lawson's next book was published by Angus & Robertson, and although he found other publishers for some of his work the relationship with George Robertson, which persisted long after most publishers would have given up in despair, was vital to his survival. In 1916 Robertson began to secretly plan a de luxe edition of the best of Lawson's poems, writing to him in 1917 "I think you the greatest poet Australia has produced; but much inferior men have surpassed you in sales (and, consequently, in public estimation) because your unfortunate circumstances and habits have caused you to publish much stuff quite unworthy of you. So I made up my mind to exhibit you to the Australian and, after the war, to the British public at your best."

With this began a massive revision of the poems Robertson considered worthy, in which he played a full part (as with so many of his authors — Dennis once protested that Robertson was criticizing his own alterations towards the end of the rewriting of *Backblock ballads* (second edition, 1918), after it had been taken over from E.W. Cole). Both de luxe and trade editions were handsome books, with endpapers and drawings by Percy Leason; in 1918 Leon Gellert wrote to Robertson to tell him he had "at last produced a book that Australia can be proud of in every way." Mary Gilmore also praised the book, writing to Robertson that "the joy of the craftsman is as much in the making of the book as in the writing of it . . . All the pictures are not done in paints and words! I mean there can be as much emotion in the look of print — on paper that matches, and this expresses an ideal (to those who know)".

## The N.S.W. Bookstall Company

By the time Alfred Cecil Rowlandson (1865–1922) died he had published nearly 200 novels by Australian and New Zealand writers, and had sold more than four million copies of them. With these fragile paperbacks, which at first sold for one shilling, he laid the foundations of mass publishing in Australia. He was also a pioneer publisher of Australian fiction.

Rowlandson first went to work for the N.S.W. Bookstall Co. as a tram ticket seller, eventually becoming cashier and then manager of the firm. Later he bought the business, and quickly added

book publishing to its large newspaper distribution activity. This network made mass sales possible: it was based on eight shops and fifty stalls but included another 3,000 independent outlets — booksellers, newsagents, stores of every description. Rowlandson's publishing strategy made mass sales essential. Bertram Stevens reported in 1918 that the amount invested in each book was so large that 10,000 copies had to be sold before the company got its money back, an economic pressure familiar to paperback publishers today, who also have to search endlessly for the next bestseller.

Rowlandson began publishing about 1900, with Steele Rudd's *Sandy's selection* — for which he paid an unheard-of £500 for the copyright — as his first book. Eventually he was to have sixteen Rudd titles in print. If a book sold he kept on republishing it, edition after edition, to nearly 100,000 copies in some cases. The books were printed in Australia, by John Sands Ltd, and provided an important outlet for local artists with their colourful covers. Among them were Sydney Ure Smith and Harry Julius, who illustrated Steele Rudd's *Poor parson* for the Bookstall series: later Rowlandson assisted with the distribution of the *Art in Australia* publications.

In 1915 Rowlandson talked of his marketing strategy in *The Bookfellow*, soon after his first one and a half million sales. "They're local books. That's their fault, in one way, and their big merit, in another. You see most of our people have never seen England or America. Most of them will never see any country but Australia. Education helps them to comprehend and be interested in other countries; but they're always more interested in their own. That's natural, isn't it? You can't expect Bill or Mary in the backblocks to really thrill about daisies in English meadows, or train-robbing in the Wild West. Tell them about the Big Flood or the Old Man Drought, and they sit down and take notice — they've been there. Or they've heard their grandmother tell how a bushranger asked her for a drink of milk — they can appreciate bushranging stories.

"We have a pretty fair idea now of what real Australian readers want. They want stories about the people and scenes they have known themselves, or might have known themselves. . . . Their own lives, in fact, with a little more fun and excitement than they get in their own lives — that's what our readers want." Some of these books for "real Australian readers" are exhibited.

319 Lane, William,  
1861–1917.

The workingman's paradise:  
an Australian labour novel.

Sydney: Edwards, Dunlop, 1892.

The mystical, religious communist William Lane came to Australia in 1885, and worked as a journalist in Brisbane. In 1890 he was the founding editor of *The Worker*, a newspaper established by the Queensland Australian Labour Federation. The 1890s were the years of struggle for the "New Unionism", by which was meant the extension of

union principles into non-skilled areas to form a union of the entire working class. The Shearer's Strike of 1891, which followed the Maritime Strike of 1890, was a crucial test of the New Unionism: Lane's novel was written to raise money for the families of imprisoned strike leaders, and to explore the socialism he worked to embed in the movement. A bitter exposé of slum conditions in the city, it always offers hope for a better world after revolutionary change.

After the failure of the strike, Lane led the New Australia movement which established an Australian community in Paraguay, not as a utopian retreat but as the nucleus of the new society debated in *The workingman's paradise*. Mary Gilmore was his most noted follower. There are many overtones of the European revolutionary traditions Lane inherited in his novel, from seventeenth century English millenarianism to William Morris and Karl Marx. There is also outspoken anti-Chinese racism, which may have been heightened by his ten years in the United States before arriving in Australia, and which found a quick response in the racism of nineteenth century radical nationalism in Australia.

- 320 *Baynton, Barbara*, Bush studies.  
1862-1929.  
London: Duckworth, 1902.

Barbara Baynton's powerful short stories tell of fear, loneliness and pain, set in a brutal bush landscape. Baynton came of an Irish working-class background and worked as a governess on the Liverpool Plains in the Quirindi district of New South Wales. She began to write for the *Bulletin* after moving to Sydney at the end of the 1880s, following her separation from her first husband. Unable to find a publisher for *Bush studies*, she took the manuscript to London, where it was eventually published by Duckworth on the recommendation of the critic Edward Garnett. Duckworth published her two subsequent books as well: *Human toll* (1907) and *Cobbers* (1917). The first Australian edition of *Bush studies* was not published until 1965. Sally Krimmer has described Baynton's realism as being ahead of its time, "often focused on the dependency and gullibility of women in the Australian bush . . . willing but unknowing victims of aggressive males". Perhaps this is why she has been neglected for so long, but the wealth she inherited, the many years she spent in England and the carefully guarded fantasy she built up of a romantic, land-owning parentage perhaps also helped, cutting her off from the sources that might have won recognition for a larger opus in Australia.

- 321 *Furphy, Joseph*, *Such is life: being certain extracts from the diary of Tom Collins*.  
1843-1912.  
Sydney: *Bulletin*, 1903.

"Temper, democratic; bias, offensively Australian." Such was Furphy's description of his novel

to Archibald of the *Bulletin*, which eventually published it in 1903. A long, rambling story of the bullock drivers of the Riverina and Northern Victoria, it operates on several levels and has steadily grown in reputation in the years since it was first published, with the aid of some enthusiastic champions. This copy is inscribed by some of those people, with comments ranging from Kate Baker's "Its philosophy is matchless" and Bernard O'Dowd's "*Such is life* is more than a book" to Arthur Phillips' "This is a good book to read; but it is one of the very few that you re-read every five years & get something new from each time".

Furphy was a mostly self-educated bullocky and labourer, who relied heavily on the literary assistance of Kate Baker, a schoolteacher who met him in 1887. After his death she organized the republication of the novel in 1917, using the unsold sheets of the 1903 printing, and worked tirelessly to maintain and extend his literary reputation.

- 322 *Gilmore, Mary*, *Marri'd and other verses*.  
1865-1962.  
Melbourne: George Robertson, [1910].

Mary Gilmore gave this copy of her first book to George Robertson (of Angus & Robertson) in 1918, around the time she confessed to him that she had thought in 1910 that it was to be published by him and not the Melbourne George Robertson when she agreed to publication. She was not the first to confuse the two! Many of the poems have been extensively annotated by her in this copy. The book did not do well. By 1917 the publisher had just about recovered production costs: 736 copies had been sold and 1,424 copies remained in unbound sheets, as well as 124 bound copies.

- 323 *Gilmore, Mary*, *The passionate heart*.  
1865-1962.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1918.

Mary Gilmore's response to the 1914-1918 war, and possibly her finest poetry. "Horror was law, and life but a spark", she wrote in "The corn", for her patriotism comprehended the nightmare of the Western Front. This was her first book to be published by Angus & Robertson, and she was delighted by the high standard of production, writing to George Robertson in 1917, "In Cosme (in Paraguay) and longer ago than I can give a definite place in time, I learned that the highest service was fulfilment of the contract — to give to life the best one had in one — that life's niggard was the careless one — and I can feel in this plan for the make up, all the fulfilment of what can never be written in words — the contract with the work + whatever lies behind work".

Later she was less happy with lavish book making. When Angus & Robertson brought out her book of essays *Hound of the road* (1921) as an attractive but expensive book, she angrily chided

George Robertson: "The book was produced from the standpoint of the big & powerful firm & not from that of the writer or the writer's public". She wrote for the poor, the people to whom Norman Lindsay meant nothing, she went on. "The success of the Bookstall was built on its cheap books, & A & R grew up sound and healthy on the same thing — its good books sold cheaply in the old shop where it began . . . . Our country is coming — is come — to that stage where the once freely spending middle class is become the economical class supporting lending libraries instead of buying . . . . Books must fall into two classes: those produced at high cost + price, + those cheaply in cheap materials + at low cost. I belong to my people, my heart is with them — + they are the poor."

- 324** *Gilmore, Mary.* Old days: old ways.  
1865–1962.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1934.

Mary Gilmore's recollections of her childhood, and of a countryside teeming with the natural life once carefully tended by the Aborigines.

- 325** *Muskett, Philip E.* The art of living in Australia.  
London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, [1894].

"The real development of Australia will never actually begin till this wilful violation of her people's food-life ceases." The one industry on which the future prosperity of Australia rested was the cultivation of the vine, Muskett argued. Australians should recognize that climatically they were Mediterraneans, and should adopt Mediterranean lifestyles and cuisine. Mrs Harriet Wicken contributed 300 appropriate recipes to his angry diatribe against the disastrous consequences of living a British lifestyle in Australia. Yet, as Richard Beckett points out, he made no attempt to canvass Asian food as an alternative to butcher's meat and tea.

- 326** *Maclurcan, H. (Hannah).* Mrs. Maclurcan's cookery book.  
2nd edition. Townsville: Willmetts, 1898.

Although these were allegedly "practical recipes specially suitable for Australia", Mrs Maclurcan (owner of the Queen's Hotel, Townsville, and later of the Wentworth Hotel, Sydney) was loyal to a British cuisine. Roast wallaby was on her menu, but as a substitute (which need not be confessed to) for hare. Prickly pear jelly and other tropical fruit dishes, as well as a large fish section, show that a patriotic determination to eat the food of old England was beginning to give way, but only just. Her book remained in print until well into the 1930s.

- 327** *McGowan, Henrietta C.* The keeyuga cookery book.  
Melbourne: Thomas Lothian, 1911.

More than simple household cookery — a kitchen and recipes for the bachelor woman living in rooms, and for the woman who earned her living by cooking. Henrietta McGowan's next book, *Women's work* (1913), demonstrates that the widening of women's employment had begun well before the 1914–1918 war opened many doors even wider.

- 328** The Commonsense cookery book.  
Revised edition. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1941.

Nearly a quarter of a million copies of this basic, much-used cookery book had gone into circulation by 1941, and its successors are still in print. It was compiled by the New South Wales Public School Cookery Teachers' Association. The recipe for a gelatine Pavlova is worth particular mention . . . and perhaps explains why Australia and New Zealand both lay claim to a different sweet of the same name!

- 329** *Stuart, Anh Thu.* Vietnamese cooking.  
North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson, 1986.

"Recipes my mother taught me", by one of the many Vietnamese who have settled in Australia in recent decades. Australian multiculturalism, product of a nation in which about 150 migrant languages exist along with the Australian English that has become lingua franca instead of mother tongue for a vastly diverse migrant population, is nowhere more evident in daily life than in the world of food.

- 330** *Stone, Louis.* Jonah.  
1871–1935.  
London: Methuen, 1911.

Two books forced recognition that urban larrikinism was an undeniable part of Australian life, however unpleasant and violent it was. The other, Dennis' *Sentimental bloke* (332), was a great success, perhaps partly because of its sentimentality. Jonah is a far more realistic tough than the Bloke, for all his romantic passions. Not surprisingly, Louis Stone's courageous novel was not a financial success, despite good reviews. It was only in the 1960s that it won wide recognition.

- 331** *Dennis, C.J. (Clarence James).* Backblock ballads and other verses.  
1876–1938.  
Melbourne: E. W. Cole, [1913].  
Lent by the La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria.

Dennis' first book, with an endpaper drawing of him as the very dignified Private Secretary of Senator Ted Russell done by Hal Gye, who illustrated

all his later books. Another endpaper from the National Library's collection has a less august illustration by Gye, of Dennis himself as the Bloke.

- 332 *Dennis, C.J.*                      *The songs of a sentimental  
(Clarence James),*                      *bloke.*  
1876-1938.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1915.

The Australian bestseller of the 1914-1918 war. In the first nineteen weeks after publication 18,000 copies were sold at three shillings and sixpence: in the following ten weeks 12,500 copies went at four shillings apiece. *The Sentimental bloke* outsold any other book of verse in Australia, with more than 55,000 copies going into circulation in its first year of life alone. Robertson claimed he did not spend a penny on newspaper advertizing: it was presentation, promotion through the press and by his two travellers, and word-of-mouth that brought this success, as well as poetry that he admired and characters he took very seriously as real individuals. In 1918 Dennis sold the film rights for £1,000, and a film version appeared the following year.

*The sentimental bloke* was heavily promoted as a book for the trenches, as its outer transparent dustwrapper proclaims. So too was its successor, *The moods of Ginger Mick* (1916), and sales of Dennis' later book *The glugs of Gosh* (1917) were seriously affected when post to France was halted in 1918. The simultaneous publication in 1916 of *The sentimental bloke* and *The moods of Ginger Mick* in small hardback form, as trench editions, was a successful innovation. For a while Dennis was churning out a book and a Christmas booklet every year, with George Robertson being closely involved in the editorial process. Dennis' books did not do well in Britain or the United States, although attempts were made to get into both markets: nonetheless, he must be ranked with Kipling as one of the great vernacular poets.

- 333 *Ackermann, Jessie.*                      *Australia from a woman's  
point of view.*  
London: Cassell, 1913.

The books in which a briefly-visiting foreigner dissects and judges Australia are notoriously shallow, but this one stands apart. Jessie Ackermann was a Women's Christian Temperance Union activist, "born, reared and educated in a country where lunatics, idiots, convicts, Red Indians and women, are declared by constitution and usage unfit for the gift of citizenship". She came to Australia as a feminist, looking above all for evidence of the status and freedom of women.

- 334 *Tsuchiya, Motosaku,*                      *Goshū (Nanpō Tairiku)  
1866-1932.*                      *oyobi-Nyū Jirando  
(Chōhakuun).*  
Osaka: Asahi Shinbun Gōshi Kaisha, 1916.

An early Japanese view of Australia. The title translated is "Australia (the Southern Continent)

and New Zealand (Land of the Long White Cloud)". Motosaku Tsuchiya arrived at Thursday Island in January 1915, and visited Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide as well as New Zealand during the subsequent five months. The account given is very factual, with careful attention to resources and topography, but pro-Japanese opinion is also commented upon.

- 335 *Paranjpye,*                      *Three years in Australia.*  
*Shakuntala.*  
Bombay: S. Paranjpye, 1951.

An Indian woman's response to Australia. Shakuntala Paranjpye came to Australia in 1944, accompanying her father, the first Indian High Commissioner in Canberra. "To me, an Indian, it was White Australia, a part of the British Empire, barefacedly crying out its aversion for the coloured races." She became a friend of Katharine Susannah Prichard, and especially admired her work for black rights. "When I think of the natives, Australians cease to be my friends", she wrote: if the Aborigines had been as well armed as the whites Australia would never have been conquered, for the blacks were intrinsically better soldiers. She was neither the first nor the last to lament that Canberra had no soul, and that its domestic architecture was completely unsuitable for the climate — yet she warmed to the informal egalitarianism she met, and contrasted it favourably with the class-ridden attitudes of the old world.

- 336 *Brennan, C.J.*                      *Poems.*  
*(Christopher John),*  
1870-1932.  
Sydney: G. B. Phillip, 1913 [i.e. 1914].

Brennan's greatest poems, grouped together as "The Wanderer", draw for their physical setting on the journey from Manly to Newport that Brennan made every weekend. Despite this local colour, he mostly looked to European sources for inspiration. Out of place in the narrow academic world of his day, he lost his chair at Sydney University five years after he had gained it, when his estranged wife sued for a judicial separation.

When Brennan died in 1932 his friend the poet Hugh McCrae wrote to R.H. Croll, describing his passing. "A man so deep-rooted in the world couldn't die easily", he wrote, in a letter exhibited by courtesy of the La Trobe Library. Brennan had done right to dismiss his friends and embrace the Catholicism he had for many years rejected, he judged. There is an interesting sidelight on Brennan's return to the faith in his correspondence with George Robertson, with whom he had a close relationship. In an undated letter, probably written in 1928, Brennan confided to Robertson: "It has been put to me that if I were to become a 'practising' Catholic (regular communicant) I should find my troubles at an end: this from an important quarter. Well, I don't like to be drove . . . but, any-

how, I was never a shining example of anti-Catholic life and why should I, in my 58th year, live in perpetual uncertainty as to my roof and subsist on bread two or three days a week (in winter too!) when there's a way out? No more worry and a chance to do my work!"

- 337** *Mawson, Douglas.*      **The home of the blizzard.**  
1882-1958.  
London: Heinemann, 1915.

Mawson's epic journey across 500 km of Adelie Land in 1912, without a tent and most of his food, is one of the great feats of human endurance. *The home of the blizzard* is based on diaries Mawson kept during his leadership of the Australasian Antarctic Expedition, from 1911 to 1914.

- 338** *Chester, Jonathan.*      **Going to extremes.**  
Sydney: Doubleday, 1986.

An account of Project Blizzard, a private Antarctic expedition that followed in Mawson's footsteps. Chester's too had been a private expedition. Judged one of the best designed books of the 1980s, the illustrations here reflect the wealth of superb photographs in Mawson's two volumes.

- 339**                              **The Anzac book.**  
London: Cassell, 1916.

The evacuation of 19 December 1915 prevented the publication of this book at Gallipoli, but it was written and edited there, by the soldiers of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps. Edited by C.E.W. Bean, it includes a poem of his own about the Turks:

*We will judge you, Mr Abdul, by the test by  
which we can —  
That with all your breath, in life, in death,  
You've played the gentleman.*

Such sentiments might seem patronizing and insufferably smug today, but in their day they took courage to proclaim. The poem also attests to the disdain many soldiers felt for the civilian xenophobia of those years: they knew that the people on the other side of no man's land were not monsters, whatever propagandists declared.

- 340**                              **Changi souvenir song  
album.**  
Narromine, NSW: C. Whitelocke, [194?].

Songs of a later war, sung by the A.I.F. Concert Party in Changi Prisoner of War Camp, and also the work of soldiers. This post-war booklet was, at every stage of its production, the work of ex-P.O.W.s or those associated with them.

- 341** *Richardson, Henry*      **The fortunes of Richard  
Handel,**                      **Mahony.**  
1870-1946.  
London: Heinemann, 1917-1929.

"In a shaft on the Gravel Pits, a man had been buried alive." With these words one of the great Australian novels begins to explore the slow wreck of Richard Mahony's sanity and fortune. These three volumes belonged to Nettie Palmer, who was the first person to popularize Richardson's work in Australia. The trilogy was written in England, after Henry Handel Richardson had married and settled there. She left Australia at the age of seventeen, and only returned once, for a brief visit.

- 342** *Watson, Frederick.*      **A brief history of Canberra.**  
1878-1945.  
Canberra: Federal Capital Press, 1927.  
No. 38 of 50 copies on special paper, signed by the author.

The first book printed and published in Canberra, by the editor of the *Historical records of Australia*. Watson handset about half the book, and printed part of it himself.

- 343** *Prichard, Katharine*      **Coonardoo.**  
*Susannah,*  
1884-1969.  
London: Jonathan Cape, 1929.  
Lent by the McLaren Collection,  
University of Melbourne Library.

A lyrical romance with a tragic, bitter ending, about love between black and white in the Australian outback. Katharine Prichard tackled a theme that all but a few White Australians preferred to ignore, and aroused great controversy with a book which is now accepted as one of enduring value. Mary Gilmore denounced it as "vulgar and dirty", and the *Bulletin*, which serialized the novel and awarded it equal first prize in its £500 prize novel competition in 1928, declined Vance Palmer's *Men are human* (1930) for serialization because of the editor's conviction that the Australian public would not accept stories of interracial sexual relations.

*Coonardoo* was written after *Working bullocks* (1926), the novel with which Katharine Prichard first demonstrated her distinctive talent. She spent some months staying at a cattle station in the north-west of Western Australia, where "for hours, day after day, it seemed to an aggrieved small son, she sat at the edge of the station veranda talking to the shy aboriginal girl who helped in the homestead kitchen; rode with her sometimes to the dry creek-bed near the aborigines' camp". The author herself found the Aborigines "quite unlike all I've ever been told, or asked to believe about them". Out of her characteristic willingness to reject the stereotypes of racism came one of the first sympathetic portraits of Aborigines in Australian literature.

- 344** *Davison, Frank*              **Man-shy.**  
*Dalby,*  
1893-1970.  
Sydney: The Australian Authors' Publishing Co., 1931.  
Lent by the McLaren Collection,  
University of Melbourne Library.

Davison's story of a herd of wild cattle ranging the hills at the boundary of a station in the Maranoa, in Queensland, and of one red cow in particular, is one of the classic stories of the bush. Davison spent four years as a soldier settler in the Maranoa, an experience of obvious importance to his story, but it is also a deceptively transparent paradigm for an understanding of the world that had grown out of a vast experience of life.

*Man-shy* was first published as a serial in *The Australian*, a magazine printed and published by Davison's father, between 1923 and 1925. When his real estate business failed in the Depression, Davison turned to his writing to support himself, with a family self-publishing venture. He had *Man-shy* and his earlier serialized story, *Forever morning* (1931), as well as a novel by his father, printed by a local printer. Davison folded and stitched the sheets of *Man-shy* himself and then bound them in cheap wallpaper before hawking the book door-to-door for sixpence a copy. The copy exhibited is one of the few to have retained its dustwrapper. Later in 1931 *Man-shy* won the Australian Literature Society's medal for best novel of the year. It was taken up by Angus & Robertson, sold over 300,000 copies, and has been in print ever since.

- 345 *Idriess, Ion L. (Ion Llewellyn), 1890-1979.* Flynn of the inland. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1932.

A biography of John Flynn, founder of the Australian Inland Mission and the Flying Doctor Service.

- 346 *Idriess, Ion L., (Ion Llewellyn), 1890-1979.* The cattle king. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1936.

A biography of Sir Sidney Kidman, one of Australia's richest cattle dealers and pastoralists.

Ion Idriess contributed many titles to the great rush of 1930s books concerned with the outback, as writers, readers and publishers (Angus & Robertson in particular) sought an elusive "spirit of Australia". Rather than producing a straight travel narrative, Idriess tended to tell the story of his own considerable bush experience indirectly, using it as background to the stories of others.

The message of his books was clear: the truest Australian national culture was that emerging in the bush, built on hard-working individualism and the heroic myths and ideals of the pioneers and bush workers. Margriet Bonnin has described him as encompassing both radical nationalist and conservative views of the country versus city divide in Australian culture.

Many of his books were bestsellers, and *The cattle king* had sold over 20,000 copies by the end of 1936. *Over the range* (1937) had a first printing of 10,000 copies, which were sold within twelve days. Such huge sales testify to the popular hunger

for books that offered both the security of increasingly old-fashioned values and optimistic forecasts of a great future for Australia.

Idriess' romanticization of the life and work of John Flynn was written as propaganda for the Australian Inland Mission (AIM), with AIM approval and aid. Although the AIM did not profit from the book's royalties, its immediate success made it a useful weapon in a fiery public campaign to save the young Flying Doctor Service based at Cloncurry in north Queensland, which was threatened with closure in 1931 and 1932, largely for financial reasons. Despite the book's over-dramatic emphasis on desperate deeds and the dangers of the north, it also forecast the steady expansion of Flynn's "mantle of safety" over country that in western medical terms was largely *terra incognita*. Mary Gilmore told its publishers that "Flynn should be translated at once into the emigrating languages of the North", mirroring the general belief of the time that only a populating of the north of Australia by whites could prevent Asian invasion. As an aside, it is interesting to reflect that the whole pre-war genre of books obsessed by a coming invasion of Australia by Asians was built on the premise that the British presence at Singapore offered no guarantee of security, long before this in fact proved to be the case.

Idriess, although he shared some of these fears, should also be read as a hugely popular writer who brought accounts (however distorted, inadequate and racist they were) of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander life into the homes of White Australians, long denied accessible versions of black life. His book on the Australian Light Horse campaigns in the desert campaigns of the 1914-1918 war (*The desert column*, 1932) was also the first Australian war book to talk of the war from the point of view of ordinary soldiers, drawing on his own service with the Light Horse. He wrote fifty-six books, which sold over three million copies in total, and was one of the few Australian authors of his day who could make a living from his books alone.

- 347 *Lindsay, Norman, 1879-1969.* *Saturdee*. Sydney: Endeavour Press, 1933.

Small town, small boy life in the raw. *Saturdee* was the sequel to *Redheap* (1930), banned in Australia until 1958. Like its predecessor, it was loosely set in Creswick, near Ballarat in Victoria, where the Lindsay family grew up. Again, like its predecessor, it was attacked by the wowsers, not this time for indecency but for besmirching the alleged sweet innocence of childhood. Lindsay's small, mischievous boys were a little too much like the real thing for the comfort of some. He captures them in his dustwrapper.

*Saturdee* was the first major book of the Endeavour Press, a *Bulletin* subsidiary established by P.R. Stephensen, and backed by the *Bulletin* at the

suggestion of Lindsay himself. The Endeavour Press was an ambitious attempt to take advantage of Angus & Robertson's reduced Australian literary output during the Depression. Stephensen and his associates John Kirtley and Jack Lindsay (son of Norman) had founded the Fanfrolico Press in London in 1926, launching a reactionary aesthetic attack on the modernism of Bloomsbury with a series of lavishly printed books often illustrated by Norman Lindsay. When he went to England as the 1924 Rhodes Scholar from Queensland, Stephensen held radical left-wing views, and he joined the Oxford branch of the Communist Party soon after taking up residence at Queen's College. Later he was to be interned from 1942 to 1945, along with other leading members of the fascist Australia First movement.

In the 1930s, at the turning point of his transition from left to right, he had a powerful and courageous though short-lived influence on Australian publishing. Penton's *Landtakers* (346) and Herbert's *Capricornia* (348) both went into print as a result of his work, as did the first Australian edition of *Jonah* (329) for over twenty years. Herbert later ridiculed him in *Poor fellow my country* (369) as the "Bloke", a "renegade Communist as likely to revert as not if it suited him to the Communist Party".

**348** *Penton, Brian, Landtakers.*  
1904–1951.  
Sydney: Endeavour Press, 1934.

Mary Gilmore has annotated this copy with her memory of having also seen the skin of an Aborigine used as a scarecrow. Xavier Herbert maintained that he would never have had to write *Poor fellow my country* if Penton had completed the trilogy of which this is the first part: with its companion volume *Inheritors* (1936) it is a savage portrayal of the settling of Queensland.

**349** *Stephensen, P.R. The foundations of culture*  
(*Percy Reginald*). *in Australia.*  
1901–1965.  
Gordon, NSW: W.J. Miles, 1936.

An angry manifesto, replying to an English claim that Australia lacked both literary tradition and the potential to develop one. The first two parts were published in Stephensen's short-lived magazine *The Australian Mercury*, in 1935. By 1936, when the final section was written, Stephensen had become xenophobic rather than simply nationalistic. Publication as a book was financed by W.J. Miles, a wealthy businessman who founded the Australia First movement in 1935. The book was this movement's greatest propaganda success, and was well and widely reviewed. The first printing of 2,000 copies was quickly sold out, and it was reprinted in mid-1936.

**350** *Herbert, Xavier, Capricornia.*  
1901–1984.  
Sydney: *The Publicist*, 1938.

"When dingoes come to a waterhole, the ancient kangaroos, not having teeth or ferocity sharp enough to defend their heritage, must relinquish it or die." Herbert's first great novel on the struggle between black and white in north Australia was one of three Angus & Robertson rejections that, with hindsight, appear inexplicable — the others were Miles Franklin's *My brilliant career* (128) and John O'Grady's *They're a weird mob* (359).

Following the propaganda success of Stephensen's *Foundations of culture in Australia* (347), W.J. Miles then established a magazine to further the anti-communist and later fascist aims of the Australia First group. *The Publicist* commenced publication in July 1936, with Stephensen as a major contributor. In 1936 he persuaded Miles to publish *Capricornia*, which had first been offered to the Endeavour Press in 1933. After the parting of the ways between Stephensen and the Endeavour Press later in 1933, the novel had been extensively revised by Herbert in collaboration with Stephensen, who had then set himself up as an independent publisher. Typesetting was almost complete when the author withdrew the book from Stephensen's failing company. After another unsuccessful attempt to persuade Angus & Robertson to take it on, this time in standing type, Herbert gave up for a while and returned to the north.

Publication on Australia Day 1938 was a highlight of a "Day of Mourning" organized by the most important Aboriginal pressure group of the day, the Aborigines Progressive Association. Its cause was briefly taken up by *The Publicist*. Later, the magazine and its increasingly fascist leadership were accused of exploiting the Aborigines Progressive Association, which split in 1938, although not fatally. *Capricornia* won the £250 sesquicentenary novel competition, judged by Frank Dalby Davison, Flora Eldershaw and Marjorie Barnard. The *Publicist* edition sold out by the end of 1938, and the novel was finally taken over by Angus & Robertson.

**351** *The Peaceful army: a memorial to the pioneer women of Australia, 1788–1938.*  
Sydney: Women's Executive Committee and Advisory Council of Australia's 150th Anniversary Celebrations, 1938.

Flora Eldershaw edited this notable collection of articles by leading Australian women writers, including Eleanor Dark, Mary Gilmore and Helen Simpson.

**352** *Langley, Eve, The pea-pickers.*  
1908–1974.  
3rd edition. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1966.

One of the finest novels to explore the experience of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants, first published in 1943. Eve Langley and her sister, like her two

heroines, travelled as men in the 1920s, working as agricultural labourers. She wrote *The pea-pickers* at a time of great tension, attempting to be wife, mother, and creative artist all at the same time. These contradictions find their place in the book. At the same time it is, as Geoffrey Dutton puts it, a wonderful "poetic declaration of love — love of life, of youth and of Australia."

**353** *Mudie, Ian.* *The Australian dream.*  
1911–1976.  
Adelaide: Jindyworobak, 1943.

Margaret Preston contributed the cover design to this patriotic poem by one of the leading Jindyworobak poets. Although she severed her connection with the Jindyworobaks after Bernard Smith's attack on them in 1945, she shared at least superficially some of their ideals. By the 1930s Preston's understanding of the cultures that produced Aboriginal art had deepened, and in 1941 she helped organize a major exhibition which included both work by Aborigines and work by white artists exploring Aboriginal motifs. In her landscape art particularly she began looking to Aboriginal art for the structure of her images rather than for surface decoration. This carried forward a concern for the development of a national art which she had first articulated in 1924, in the pages of *The Home*: for an art which was not just the "mere imitation of endemic forms", but which was the expression of a landscape, mediated by an entire culture or race.

Mudie was perhaps the most extreme of the Jindyworobak Movement poets in demanding an Australianism "free from all alien dreaming." Jindyworobak is an Aboriginal word meaning to annex, to join: founded in South Australia by Rex Ingamells in 1938, the movement owed much to P.R. Stephensen, and this poem was the winner in a competition for a memorial to Stephensen's financial backer W.J. Miles. Bernard Smith criticized the movement's portrayal of the Aborigines as "neo-Rousseauian romanticism", but its followers' appreciation of the need to come to terms with Aboriginal culture, and to accept it as whole and legitimate, was brave and important. They insisted that "all things exist in this our country's scene" and claimed a deep commitment to and wide knowledge of the Australian bush landscape. Mudie was also one of the founding members of the Australia First movement, and one of the few of Stephensen's friends to stand by him through his internment.

**354** *Malley, Ern.* *The darkening ecliptic.*  
Melbourne: Reed & Harris, 1944.

Published after Harold Stewart's and James McAuley's hoax on the magazine *Angry Penguins* had been revealed, and reprinted several times since, the poems of the spurious "Ern Malley" have gained a life that can never have been anticipated by their authors.

*Angry Penguins* was founded in Adelaide in 1940, and by 1944 was the vehicle for a group of artists and writers whose anarchism opposed them to both conservatives and communists. Two Sydney poets, James McAuley and Harold Stewart, concocted a series of deliberately incoherent poems which they sent to Max Harris as the last work of an unknown poet, who had died tragically young of Graves' disease. The poems were published in a special issue of *Angry Penguins* (also exhibited), with a cover by Sidney Nolan inspired by a line from one of the poems.

The subsequent exposure of the hoax gravely damaged the reputation of the *Angry Penguins*, and helped drive many writers and artists to either communism or catholicism. Coming at a crucial time of transition in Australia, towards the end of the war, the affair had a considerable impact on the range of possibilities open to creative workers in Australia.

*Angry Penguins* did not go under, and indeed expanded in 1945 with the production of the popular *Angry Penguins Broadsheet*. The *Angry Penguins* inner group of John Reed, Sunday Reed, Max Harris and Sidney Nolan, and associated people such as Albert Tucker, Joy Hester, and John Perceval played important roles in the development of post-war Australian culture. Nonetheless, it is intriguing to speculate how the history of Australia might have differed in the 1940s if the Ern Malley issue of *Angry Penguins* had not been published.

**355** *Upfield, Arthur.* *Death of a swagman.*  
1888–1964.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1947.

A series of murders solved by Australia's most famous policeman, Detective Inspector Napoleon Bonaparte, M.A. Although Upfield was born in England, his wandering life in Australia from 1910 gave him a knowledge of the bush which helps lift his novels well out of the thriller rank. His central character, known to most of his readers simply as Bony, combines Aboriginal and European skills and knowledge in an oddly diagrammatic way — almost as if two separate bodies had been joined — but as a vehicle for Upfield's encounter with the bush he has a deeper significance. Geoffrey Dutton has placed another of the Bony novels, *Man of two tribes* (1956), "close to *Voss*, being a journey of self-discovery in a land that is also a prime agent in that painful exposure." Although Upfield's novels would be suspect if written today, there is a very real assertion of black pride in the personality of his hero, "the man who had fought and suffered and triumphed over two enemies — the bush and the white man."

**356** *Palmer, Nettie.* *Fourteen years: extracts from a private journal, 1925–1939.*  
1885–1964.  
Melbourne: Meanjin Press, 1948.

Nettie Palmer, poet, critic and distinguished biographer, was also an important networker in literary circles. This lovely book, illustrated with wood engravings by Verdon Morcom, tells something of her work and friendships, as well as the motives for her own writing. The copy displayed belonged to her husband Vance Palmer.

- 357** *Wilson, Hardy.*                      **Atomic civilization.**  
1882-1955.  
Melbourne: H. Wilson, 1949.  
No. 11 of 100 copies.

Hardy Wilson's last book was written in the hope that it would bring "freedom from fear of the future, which must vanish with the coming of world peace and creativeness, which is inevitable and near." The cover of the book symbolized the awakening of atomic civilization as Pacific creativeness. "On the left is the Phoenix, symbol of Chinese creativeness. To the right is a Hawk, of Southern United States, symbolizing American awakening in the South, together with Mexican creativeness. Midway between is a Lyre bird, symbol of Australia, joining East and West.

"Completing the circle is a Chinese bat, symbol of long life, holding peaches of happiness. These symbols convey creative communism as a life-giving source of creative energy, supplanting Marxian communism which opened the way."

- 358** *Hardy, Frank,*                      **Power without glory.**  
1917-.  
[Melbourne: F. Hardy, 1950]

Another self-published manifesto by a communist, albeit one more involved in the day-to-day battle for a philosophy under siege than Hardy Wilson. Over a million copies have been sold of this great exposé of corruption in Victoria. "The process of printing a book is very complex — as Ross Franklyn [Hardy's pseudonym] was to learn the hard way. In fact, had he been aware of the full complexity he would have hesitated. But fools rush in where printers fear to tread!"

Hardy dared not risk his book to a commercial printer, let alone a publisher, at a time of growing anti-communist hysteria. He decided to publish it himself, as have so many of the writers of Australia. A £200 win at the races financed the beginning of typesetting, and with borrowed money he put a £400 deposit on an old press, which had to be operated inside the printery he bought it from. As the same printery produced Liberal Party material, Hardy and his printer friends worked with great caution for fear of discovery, taking away all spoiled sheets at the end of every day's work. Each stage of typesetting had to be financed by selling the previous lot of type for melting down. Hardy would wearily haul the metal across Melbourne after revising the manuscript one last time the night before. "It is no wonder the last part of *Power without glory* falls far below the first two parts in both form and

content", he wrote in recalling the printing. Folding, sewing and binding the book was equally traumatic, and the job was eventually finished by volunteers, by hand. "Life was an exhausting nightmare. The work was slow and now time was the essence of the contract — the Communist Party Dissolution Act was being debated in Parliament."

Hardy and his friends then distributed the book themselves, mostly through factory meetings and trade union officers. The book could be borrowed for two shillings a time, if the purchase price of sixteen shillings and sixpence could not be afforded. It was often accompanied by a typed key to the characters, although Hardy denied producing this. A lengthy trial for criminal libel, of which Hardy was eventually acquitted, gave the book great publicity, but the first printing had already been sold out when he was charged. John Arnold reports that it was in great demand at some of Melbourne's subscription libraries, with long waiting lists, even when it still had to be kept under the counter.

A second edition was printed, again in secrecy and mostly at night, on the presses of the official printery of the Victorian branch of the Australian Labor Party — at the time dominated by the Wren machine, which the book set out to destroy. After discovery by the management, the incomplete edition had to be "stolen" by the author and his friends to forestall destruction, and was again completed with voluntary help.

- 359** *Waten, Judah Leon,*              **Alien son.**  
1911-1985.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1952.

Judah Waten's first book, an exploration of migration into an Australia sometimes hostile to newcomers. Waten was the first immigrant from Eastern Europe to succeed as a writer in Australia in the modern period: Geoffrey Dutton judges this to be "still the best account of a European family's settlement in Australia." Waten was born at Odessa, and was brought to Australia via Palestine in 1914.

- 360** *Caddie,*                                      **Caddie: a Sydney barmaid.**  
1900-1960.  
London: Constable, 1953.

Not all feats of endurance take place in the wilderness: Caddie's life story tells of a hugely courageous struggle against poverty, desertion and ill fate. She was encouraged to write by the authors of *Come in spinner* (1951), Dymphna Cusack and Florence James, for whom she worked while they wrote their novel. In 1976 a successful film was based on the book.

- 361** *O'Grady, John,*                      **They're a weird mob.**  
1907-1981.  
Sydney: Ure Smith, 1957.

A great Australian comic novel, which at the same time succeeds as a study of the Australian vernac-

ular and the importance to Australians of their own idiomatic language. Ostensibly this is the story of how Nino Culotta, a well-educated Italian journalist, comes to an understanding of Australians through working as a bricklayer's labourer, at the same time learning Australian English. The novel's tremendous sales (over a quarter of a million copies in Australia alone) indicate that it speaks to ordinary Australians, as well as to those making their own passage to the new country. The startlingly successful transition to multiculturalism this often inward-looking, even xenophobic nation has made since the 1950s perhaps owes something to John O'Grady's masquerade as Nino Culotta.

**362** *Almanacco Cappuccino*  
1974.

Leichhardt, NSW: The Capuchin Friars, 1974.

Almanacs continue to keep social and religious ties and the memory of significant dates alive, in this case for recent Italian immigrants to Australia. "Caro immigrato", the editor writes, "affronta le difficoltà con spirito di adattamento; gli inizi non sono mai facili: non incolpare l'ambiente. Sii sereno e sempre fiducioso!" (Dear immigrant, face difficulties with a spirit of adaptability; beginnings are never easy: don't blame the environment. Be calm and always trusting.)

**363** *Stuart, Ambrose* *Letters to Scotland, 1860.*  
*Dale,*  
born 1839.  
Burradoo: The Juniper Press, 1961.  
No. 8 of 160 copies.

The letters home of a young Scot, working as a station manager in northern Victoria in the 1860s. They were kept in a family scrapbook and printed by Mary Quick, a descendent of Ambrose Stuart's more famous uncle, the explorer John Stuart. "The letters & diaries from which this book has been compiled are of the sort that many Australian families own", the printer wrote, perhaps hoping to nudge other families into similar publication. Mary and Ernest Quick printed a number of small, elegant books, illustrated by Mary Quick's wood engravings, usually on local themes.

**364** *Green, Percy G.* *I am evergreen.*  
Kallista: Privately printed, 1968.  
No. 50 of 50 copies.  
Lent by the La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria.

A family history and autobiography hand-set and hand-printed by one of the finest book designers and typographers to have worked in Australia. Percy Green estimated it took him 2,000 hours to print. He gave most of the fifty copies to members of his family.

In the section entitled "Why I climbed the Family Tree — and how" Green described how he

designed the cover: "although I had never seen it before, why shouldn't I use a 'ghost' in order to represent the past generation — a green tree, forsooth? The present could be represented with another tree. The 'ghost' was obtained by a printing on the reverse side of a semi-transparent sheet, which was then wrapped around a green stiffener, to add a green hue".

**365** *With pride: Menzels of Hoffnungsthal.*

Salisbury Downs, S.Aust.: Menzel Family Reunion Committee, 1984.

One of many fine family histories prepared by descendants of the German settlers of South Australia. As well as being histories, they chart the present, including photographs and brief biographical details of the living descendants of the immigrants in whose name these books are written.

These three family histories represent one of the single largest categories of books being published in Australia in the 1980s. Family histories, and the guides to research that genealogists produce in equally large numbers, range in design and standards of editing and production from the superb to the execrable. All testify, however, to the hunger Australians have to know something of their origins, and to their need to preserve that hard-won knowledge in book form.

**366** *White, Patrick,* *Voss,*  
1912-.  
London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1957.

"A pity that you huddle", said the German. "Your country is of great subtlety." Paralleling the life of the explorer Leichhardt, Voss eventually dies in the desert he is obsessed by. The transcendence of that obsession is perhaps to be found in the survival of his spiritual companion, Laura Trevelyan, who argues towards the end of the novel: "Knowledge was never a matter of geography. Quite the reverse, it overflows all maps that exist. Perhaps true knowledge only comes of death by torture in the country of the mind."

The dustwrapper of the first English edition was based on a drawing by Sidney Nolan, here exhibited for the first time since 1950. It is far more effective as an image of the novel than the dustwrapper of the first American edition, which preceded the Eyre & Spottiswoode edition.

**367** *Johnson, Colin,* *Wild cat falling.*  
1938-.  
Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1965.

The first novel by an Aboriginal novelist. Recently republished, Johnson's account of a black encounter with the bodgies and widgies of the big city and with prison culminates with the central character's rediscovery of his mother's country. Johnson's recent novels have dealt with the first meetings of

black and white in Australia, and have been influenced by his adoption of Buddhism.

- 368** *Stow, Randolph,*                      *The merry-go-round in the*  
1935-.                                      *sea.*  
London: Macdonald, 1965.

A lyrical account of eight years in the childhood of one small boy. "His is a safe world, assured by material prosperity and clan identity, yet even so the robbers called transience, change, difference and division find him out", Pauline Cahir writes. "The passage from innocence is one we have all made. In documenting the boy Rob's journey, Stow forces us to assess what irreparable losses occur along the way."

- 369** *Lindsay, Joan,*                      *Picnic at Hanging Rock.*  
1896-1984.  
Melbourne: Cheshire, 1967.

A fictional mystery that many Australians firmly believe in, recently completed by a previously unpublished concluding chapter. It is Penguin's top-selling Australian paperback, with over 350,000 copies in circulation, a hundred times as many as were in the first edition. It was made into an award-winning film in 1976. Lindsay's agent has claimed of the decision to omit the conclusion, which experiments with unorthodox theories of time: "If it had been printed as Joan intended, the film probably would never have been made because the last chapter is unfilmable. The suppression of chapter 18 is the invisible foundation of the entire Australian film industry."

"I think the main thing is the effect of environment on character", Joan Lindsay said in 1977. "The rock . . . has a tremendous influence on all of the people who went there. But it's not necessarily an evil force . . . it's a primitive force."

## The seventies and beyond

The books that map this country and the societies that inhabit it have been published in greater numbers than ever before during the last two decades. Patricia Wrightson has divided the population of Australia into three tribes: the Happy Folk, who live in the cities and are obsessed by pleasure and the means of buying it; the People, who were here when the Happy Folk arrived in 1788 and who still work for the land; and the Inlanders, once related to the Happy Folk and now also a part of the land, though for the most part still bitter enemies of the People. Perhaps our literature generally concerns itself with either one or other of these three groups, and with the contacts between them, thereby continuing the city versus bush motif of previous years. It is a healthy perspective to have on multicultural Australia: to realize that there are fundamentally two types of Australians, whatever their national

origins and birthplaces. There are those who are here to conquer, to take and spend, whether it be in Europe or Asia or in the cities of the Happy Folk. There are those who seek to know and listen to the land. Perhaps out of that dichotomy will come a bridging of the gulfs between black and white, city and bush. By looking at the books of Australia we can see that many people have for long been toiling to build those bridges.

It would be invidious to pick out a handful of the books of our most recent years as other than exemplars. The few that follow are all important and noteworthy, but not more so than a hundred others. They map these different tribes we live in: Happy Folk, People and Inlanders. They point to a way forward, however hard it may be.

- 370** *Herbert, Xavier,*                      *Poor fellow my country.*  
1901-1984.  
Sydney: Collins, 1975.

An ungainly monster of a book, the longest novel in the English language, and for many the greatest Australian novel. Herbert's agonized lament for "my poor destructed country" demolishes the apathy and bad faith he saw all around him during a lifetime in northern Australia: along the way he savages magnificently the politicians and administrators of war-time Australia.

In recent years British publishers have regained much of the ground they lost to firms such as Angus & Robertson in the 1920s and 1930s. *Poor fellow my country* sold 22,000 copies in its first four months, including a first impression of 14,000, and continued to sell well after an Australia Council grant of just under \$18,000 ran out and the price had to be increased by nearly one third. Printed in Hong Kong by the Japanese-owned printery Dai Nippon, who have printed many Australian books in recent years, it was set by the then old-fashioned Monotype process — partly because Monotype Baskerville type would be the best basis for reduction to paperback page size at a later date, and partly because "it was thought to give the only imprint that stood up to the majesty of the novel." It was Collins' biggest commitment to that date to a single Australian fiction title, and was heavily promoted by them. Ironically, one of the main themes of the novel is the impact of British capital on the life of Australia.

- 371**    *Mother I'm rooted.*  
Fitzroy, Vic.: Outback Press, 1975.

Seldom has the transforming power of books been demonstrated more than in the feminism of recent years. Feminist books, and the magazines that often are their forerunners, bridge the distances and the silences between women, and between men and women, and offer explanations for women's condition which are not often spelled out during our

education and family upbringing. Feminist publications are no new thing in Australia, as is evident from other books in this exhibition, but recent years have seen a dismantling of some of the barriers to their publication. Some but not all: several major bookshops reportedly refused to stock this anthology of Australian women poets, and some newspapers either refused to review it or, in one Brisbane case, coyly referred to it by its sub-title only. Kate Jennings, who edited the anthology, defined it as "a collective statement about the position of women in Australia", and advertised for contributions as well as collecting poems by published women writers. Within two months she had been sent over 500 replies.

- 372** *Garner, Helen,* **Monkey grip.**  
1942-.  
Melbourne: McPhee Gribble, 1977.

A novel of inner-city Melbourne life, among people who have rejected the safe normalcies they grew up with but who have still to find new stabilities. Helen Garner's first novel is, amongst other things, a study of the impact of heroin addiction on the non-user, the person in love with a junkie. It won a National Book Council award in 1978.

- 373** *Facey, A.B. (Albert Barnett),* **A fortunate life.**  
1894-1982.  
Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1981.

The story of survival and joy in an equally harsh world, that of the unskilled labourer and farming battler in Western Australia. Albert Facey's autobiography, based on the diaries of a lifetime, was the book that turned a regional literary publishing house into one with national recognition. Over half a million copies have been sold in various formats in Australia, including Penguin editions that followed the leasing of the book's rights to Penguin. The success of *A fortunate life* extended to the rest of its publisher's list, encouraging booksellers to order books that had previously been seen as having only a narrow literary appeal.

- 374** **A Day in the life of Australia.**  
Potts Point, NSW: DITLA, 1981.

A celebration of the power of photography to apparently capture the nature of a country in just one day's shooting, this lavish collection of photographs — one for each day of the year, by 100 of the world's leading photographers — speaks for the eagerness of Australians to own books about themselves. This is a book about people, not the land, and about a greatly culled section of the people at that. The two photographers who put the project together, Rick Smolan and Andy Park, eventually secured well over a million dollars from corporate

and government sponsors, and then sold 50,000 copies before photography even began. Such figures are further indications of the appeal of this genre in recent years, although its origins in Australia go back to the illustrated books of the nineteenth century as well as to the local photographic tourist guide-books of the early years of the twentieth century.

- 375** *Cappiello, Rosa R.* **Paese fortunato.**  
Milano: Feltrinelli, 1981.

This angry attack on the exploitation of migrants as factory fodder, written by a woman who was herself a working-class migrant to Australia in 1971, drew mixed reactions when it was published in Australia as *Oh lucky country* (1985). Some reviewers were hostile to the author's torrent of bitterness, despair and disillusionment. Others praised the skill with which she captured the chaotic experience of immigration and the subsequent confrontation of old and new inequalities and tragedies.

- 376** *Skrzynecki, Peter.* **The Polish immigrant.**  
1945-.  
Brisbane: Phoenix Publications, 1982.

Migrant poems, by a Polish Ukrainian who migrated to Australia at the age of four. Phoenix Publications came into being when Manfred Jürgenson, Professor of German at the University of Queensland, was asked to put together an anthology of work by Australians whose second language was English. He published *Ethnic Australia* himself in 1980, having decided that this was the only way he could guarantee a high standard of production. This standard has been maintained in his subsequent publications, which have all concerned multicultural themes, and the same success in design has been extended to the biannual journal *Outrider*, founded as a result of the success of *Ethnic Australia* at the request of the Multicultural Writer's Conference held in Sydney in 1983. Many artists have been involved in Jürgenson's work, including Charles Blackman, who designed the cover for *The Polish immigrant*.

- 377** *Hall, Rodney.* **Just relations.**  
1935-.  
Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1982.

An exuberant, idiosyncratic novel set in a fading goldmining town somewhere on the south coast of New South Wales. "The mystery of writing a novel", Rodney Hall has said, "is inducing (seducing?) the reader to contribute the energy to bring the pages to life. The reader, after all, does a lot of the work. So the novel has to be interesting and entertaining, and has to deal with the issues that matter. Fiction is at its best a moral art: the reader must take sides in order to care about what happens

next. I hope above all that my readers care what happens."

**378** *Roe, Paddy.* **Gularabulu: stories from the West Kimberley.**

Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1983.

When he was a small child Paddy Roe was hidden by his mother from the police who were taking Aboriginal children in the Broome area from their families — a policy of forced assimilation that continued in various parts of Australia until the 1960s. Because he escaped capture, Paddy Roe was brought up with the traditional knowledge of his people, and he is now one of the few West Kimberley Aborigines to maintain that knowledge. The stories in this collection range from true stories to ghost stories and dreamtime stories. They were taped by Stephen Muecke, who also collaborated with Paddy Roe and Krim Benterrack to produce *Reading the country* (1985).

**379** *Eldershaw, M. Barnard.* **Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow.**

London: Virago, 1983.

The first uncensored text of a wartime novel of the future, written by a unique two-woman partnership. M. Barnard Eldershaw was the pseudonym for Marjorie Barnard (1898–1987) and Flora Eldershaw (1897–1957), two women at the heart of women's achievement in writing between the wars. *Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow* opens in the twenty-fourth century, with Australians living in an closely-regulated society. It proceeds to give an account of how freedom was lost in the twentieth century, alternating this with a doomed challenge to the present state. When it went to the censor, in 1944, it was heavily although somewhat randomly cut. As Anne Chisholm points out in the introduction to the Virago edition, censorship was at its most savage when the novel suggests that the Australian government of the 1940s had manipulated the flow of information in order to stop people thinking for themselves about the war, and in the account of the civil war in Australia that followed an invasion by a right-wing international police force.

Although Georgian House did not publish the novel until 1947, under the abbreviated title of *Tomorrow and tomorrow*, the wartime cuts were maintained. By then the mutilated text was of little interest to a postwar readership, and the novel was poorly reviewed: it was to be M. Barnard Eldershaw's last fiction. The complete text was published by Virago, a feminist publishing house headed by an Australian, Carmen Callil, which has done much to rescue women's and feminist texts from obscurity.

**380** *Malouf, David.* **Harland's half acre.**

1934–.

London: Chatto & Windus, 1984.

Malouf has taken the image of the reclusive Bribie Island painter Ian Fairweather, and has painted around that wholly different life a portrait of both the choice of isolation and Malouf's own love of the Australian landscape. "I think it has taken Australians a very long time to feel that they are not just in a neutral place but a place that has a kind of holiness", Malouf has said. "The myth of Australia has defined arrogance and the power to go out and make and use as being what defines us as people, our heroic side. What one is wanting to do is change that sense of what defines our qualities, in terms of some more inward thing than that. I think that is the major role of writing in Australia."

**381** *Wright, Judith.* **Phantom dwelling.**

1915–.

Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1985.

Judith Wright's most recent volume of poetry: "quiet and matchless", as Elizabeth Riddell described it in her review. Some of the poems are about age, and about the persistence with which some people see her as a poet of the past.

**382** *Papaellinas, George.* **Ikons.**

1954–.

Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1986.

Stories of a Greek family in Australia, of the struggle between people and place. "And Australia? Well, it was always too early to tell though it waxed just like Peter, forgetting its past and one eye on the future."

**383** *Brett, Lily.* **The Auschwitz poems.**

1946–.

Brunswick, Vic.: Scribe, 1986.

Poems that remind us that Australia is a post-Holocaust society, in the European sense as well as the Aboriginal and now the Asian. They relive the experience of Jews in Nazi Europe, the experience of the poet's parents, finishing with an arrival in Australia.

**384** **The Bradman albums.**

Sydney: Rigby, 1987.

No. 343 of 500 copies.

There have been over twenty biographies of the cricket player Don Bradman. This is something different: a lovingly presented recreation of a part of the fifty-two scrapbooks Bradman collected during a career that still captures public adulation forty years after his retirement from cricket.

**385** *Clark, Manning.* **A history of Australia.**

1915–.

Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1962–1987.

Manning Clark's epic history of Australia spans the transformation of the writing of history in Australia

over the last quarter century as well as the two hundred years of the nation's history. While he has clearly been influenced by the changing agenda of Australian historians, Clark has maintained his original vision: to write a history of the Australian spirit, and of the clash of values in a history which at times has appeared to deny all idealism, and which at other times speaks of the triumph of humanity.

Much of Clark's most controversial writing has been concerned with the transition time of the 1890s, a watershed period in the design of this exhibition also. Clark's credo includes many quests: one of the most important, he explained in his *Occasional writings and speeches* (1980), has been his belief that "only a knowledge of what Australia had been about since 1788 could give the people here a chance to avert a new barbarism from the right, or a total collapse of our existing society, which would be replaced by a society imposed on us from the outside".

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This last case in the exhibition is left blank, for visitors to fill with their own choice of the Australian books which matter to them. Each week National Library staff will select a few books from the suggestions collected here, and will exhibit them along with the statements you have written about why these books are important, and why they should be in the exhibition.

## FURTHER READING

Much work has still to be done before a complete picture of the Australian book trade is made. This is not an attempt at a complete bibliography, but is simply an acknowledgement of sources consulted and a brief suggestion for further reading, listing material that is mostly readily available in public library collections

Archival research for the present catalogue was done in two collections: the Lothian Archive, in the La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria; and the Angus & Robertson Archive, in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

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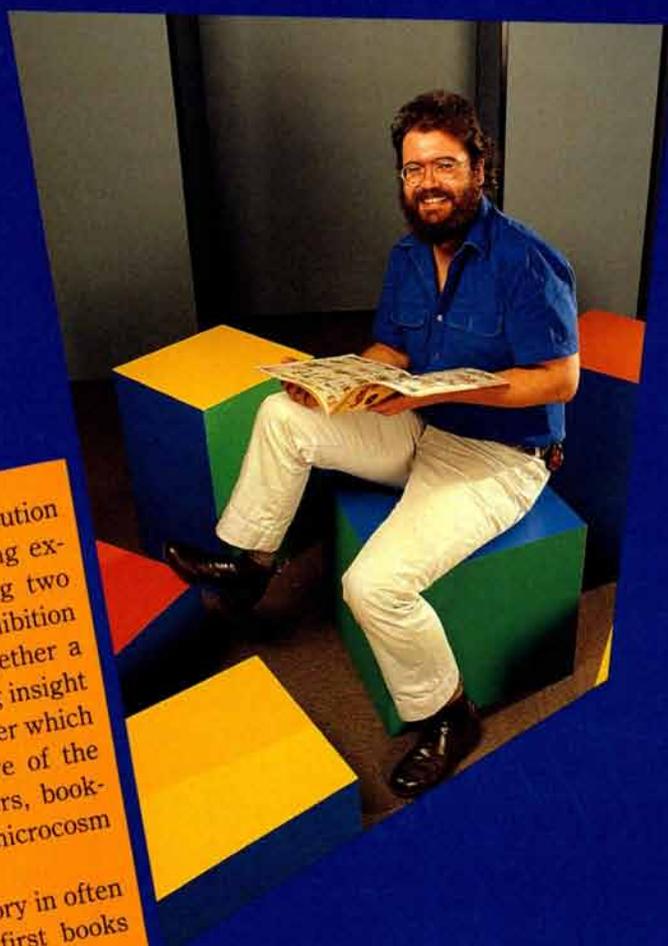
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The National Library's major public contribution to the Australian Bicentenary is the travelling exhibition, *People, Print & Paper*. Celebrating two hundred years of Australian books, this exhibition and the accompanying catalogue bring together a collection of books which gives a fascinating insight into an aspect of Australian life and character which is often overlooked. Australia is a culture of the book, and the story of its writers, printers, booksellers and publishers is an important microcosm of the country's past and present.

*People, Print & Paper* explores this story in often unexpected ways. It begins with the first books published in Australia, printed by convict printers, and with the pioneers of trade unionism, in the printing industry; with the early years of the struggle for black rights; and with the start of an independent Australian publishing industry.

Along the way, the exhibition examines the books of the First Fleet and the convict era, the triumphs of the arts press of the 1920s, Australian children's books and the ways in which Australians have made their own books. The books which tell of White Australians coming to understand and to love the new country are gathered, together with the books with which a national literature was created.

This is more than a gathering of rare and valuable books, although it includes many of the National Library's finest treasures and other books never before exhibited. It is above all a testament of the strength and continued vitality of the book, and of the energy created when people, print and paper interact.



Michael Richards, the curator of the exhibition, came to Australia at the age of fifteen, after a childhood in Africa and New Zealand. He studied history at the University of Queensland and has taught history at the James Cook University of North Queensland and at Oxford University. He holds an M.A. from James Cook University. While living in Oxford he worked as a bookseller in Oxford's largest second-hand bookshop, and was Assistant Librarian of St Anne's College. After six years in England he returned to Australia to work at the National Library in 1986.