THE LITERARY IMPORTANCE

of

THE SYDNEY "BULLETIN"

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CHAPTER I.

Background to "The Bulletin".

"Once more this Autumn earth is ripe,
Parturient of another type."

A. H. Adams (B. 17/6/99). (1)

Sydney weekly journal, the Bulletin, was first published in 1880. In the following decade it slowly built up a reputatio and during the 'nineties and the early years of the new century it flourished as no other Australian weekly paper had done befor it. It is well known that during this period the Bulletin was closely connected with Australian literature, and sweeping statements on the subject abound. However, no comprehensive account of its literary influence is available. Consequently it seems useful to attempt a detailed examination of the matter. Since the Bulletin was essentially a product of its time, it wi be necessary first to consider some of the general conditions pr vailing during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century.

It was an important period in Australian history. For the first time in nearly one hundred years of settlement the term Australian was beginning to assume a real significance. The separate colonies were discussing the question of Federation whi had been proposed long before but had not hitherto aroused much interest. In 1880 it assumed the status of a major political i but the vote taken then was indecisive. However, the difficulti

arising from disunion were becoming more apparent every year, and in 1885 the first practical step was taken in the formation of the Federal Council of Australasia. Thereafter the progress towards Federation was steady. It was probably accelerated by a change in the balance of population at this period. The census of 1881 revealed that New South Wales could count 68% of its population as native-born, and Victoria 62%. There was, by that time, a change in general outlook from the days when a people largely English-born looked back across the seas to home. Some feeling of pride in the growing nation was inevitable. And, in fact, during the last twenty years of the century Australian history was marked by a strong spirit of nationalism. It was during this period that the Bulletin became established.

The progress towards a national consciousness in Australia was characterised by emphasis on a democratic ideal - what an American observer, Hartley Grattan, referred to as "the aggressive insistance on the worth and unique importance of the common man." (2) The historian, R. M. Crawford, states the case thus:

> "The essence of Australian democracy has been a belief in the rights of the individual ,,,,, The assumption that old restrictions on individual independence have no natural right here has been a persistent element in Australian attitudes." (3)

By 1880 the pattern of this democracy was becoming apparent. It had been developing for thirty years, having originated in the

'fifties when two important events conjoined to give it being. In those ten years the discovery of gold brought an influx of immigrants which more than doubled the population; and the individual colonies drew up their plans for self-government.

Politically it was significant that the drafting of colonial constitutions coincided with the period of large-scale migration. A constitution framed in the 'forties would almost certainly have resulted in a concentration of power in the hands of a landed aristocracy. But many of the newcomers were deeply imbued with the ideals of freedom and reform, and by 1860 the Australian colonies had a greater degree of internal self-government than any other state in the world.(4) Notable features of the new constitutions were manhood suffrage and vote by ballot. England it might be noted, did not enjoy the ballot system until 1872. In 1870 Victorian democracy achieved a victory in the form of a bill authorising payment of members. South Australia passed a similar bill in 1888, New South Wales in 1889. In this latter year also the Labour Party was formed in New South Wales. Politically the working man had gained real representation; and his power was to grow in this field in the years that followed.

The Trade Union movement in Australia dates from the 'fifties; by the eighties it was beginning to feel its strength. The result of the decline of the gold-fields was a concentration of workmen in coal-mines, on wharfs and in the new industries which grew up in the cities as the period of internal development began. Australia had no traditions of class-distinction such as prevailed in Europe, and there was consequently scope for

concerted action on the part of the workers. As a result trade unionism began to flourish. Chartist elements were strongly entrenched in New South Wales under the influence of Parkes and the Empire, and in Victoria David Syme had a similar, even strong influence through the Age. As early as 1856 the Operative Stone Masons' Society had secured an eight-hour working day for its members in Sydney. The Coal Miners' Union was formed in 1861, and struck successfully for recognition and a ten-hour day in 1873. By 1878 sufficient solidarity had been achieved for the combined unions to force the Australian Steamship Company to abandon its plans to use Chinese labour on some of its vessels. In the late 'eighties, under the influence of the Amalgamated Shearers' Union and the Australian Labour Federation, the Trade Union movement too on a national aspect and became something of an apostolate for th cause of the working man. Vance Palmer wrote of "the Gospel of Unionism (which) swept like wildfire throughout the back country, carried by crusaders who were often filled with a religious passion."(5) And an Australian historian, Brian Fitzpatrick, cl that by 1889 "the general labour feeling was that trade unionism could, if it would, take over Australia on the morrow."(6) The unions were to learn that they had been over-optimistic; but that was after 1890. While the Bulletin was developing, the immedi future looked bright for the working man; and the mood was refle in the paper.

The period following the gold rushes was one of great material progress. Most of those who came to dig remained to labour in other ways. Public works were carried out on a large

scale, both in Victoria, which had the wealth from the mines, and in New South Wales which attracted much overseas capital. Communications were developed after 1870, an important stage being reached when the Victorian and New South Wales railway systems we linked in 1883. All through the 'eighties the eastern colonies were thriving. They felt self-satisfied and self-reliant.

The advance in democratic government, the early success and growing strength of the Trade Unions, and the prosperity whic attended the growth of the colonies after 1850, all combined to produce the impression that Australia was the land of opportunity where every man was as good as his fellows. The working man wa better off in Australia than anywhere else, and his position seer likely to improve still further. Australians showed an inclin tion to regard themselves as leaders in the cause of individual liberty, and to think of their country as a land in which the cl distinction and oppression of the old world had been abolished. Charles Harpur sang of the Australian "Tree of Liberty":

"We'll plant a Tree of Liberty
In the centre of the land,
And round it ranged as guardians be,
A vowed and trusted band:
... ...
Till felled by gold as bards have told,
In the Old World once it grew,
But there its fruits were ever sold
And only to the Few.

But here at last, uncurs'd by caste,
Each man at Nature's call
Shall pluck as well what none may sell,
The fruit that blooms for All." (7)

Even Marcus Clarke, with all his nostalgia for England, saw Australia as a leader in the disenslavement of the worker. For the twentieth anniversary of Eight-Hour Day (1876) he composed An Australian Paean. -

"Though Scotland has her forests,
Though Erin has her vales,
Though plentiful her harvests,
In England's sunny dales;
Yet foul amidst the fairness,
The factory chimneys smoke,
And the murmurs of the many
In their burdened bosoms choke.
... ...
Liberty! name of warning!
Did'st thou feel our pulses beat
As we marching, moved this morning
All adown the cheering street?
In our federated freedom,
In our manliness allied,
While the badges of our labour
Were the banners of our pride." (8)

Many saw England as the arch-enemy of such liberty, the staunch advocate of old-world ideas of lower class drudgery; she was the cruel overlord of the colonies, exploiting them for her own benefit. In Melbourne as early as 1860 David Syme had bitterly attacked the policy of 'Free Trade' as harmful to Victorian development and an instrument of oppression in the hands of the mother country:

> "The doctrine of 'Free Trade' is not a science but cant, and cant of that kind which is meant to fill the pockets of the originators at the expense of the dupes ..... It will anger the mother country mightily, no doubt, if Victoria ..... refuses any longer to take her manufactures free; though she won't let Sydney sell her a piece of colonial-made trousering, or Melbourne as much jeweller's work as goes in a ring for her finger or the mounting of a smelling bottle without clapping a tax on it ... ... Let us beware of being bled to death like Ireland - of being any longer phlebotomized to fill the pockets of an oligarchy which treads down Englishmen as it does Irishmen when they stand in its way." (9)

With others the opposition to England grew out of the struggle against the big landowners. Many large holdings were controlled from overseas, and in the troubled period of land settlement feeling was strong against the absentee landlord. In New South Wales, moreover, the main business houses were run in the interests of overseas firms. By the middle of the 'eighties this opposition to

certain quarters to consider Australian patriotism as synonymous with enmity to Britain. It was a radical phase in the development of Australian nationalism; and it had passed by the beginning of the new century, when it became obvious that Britain was in no way opposed to a Federated Australia, and that there were certain advantages for Australia in an association between the two countri But it was during this period of popular, violent nationalism that the Bulletin was born and grew to maturity.

Out of the nationalistic movement there developed a deman for a distinctive literature. In 1868 the Colonial Monthly voice the growing feeling:

> "A national literature is something more than an elegant luxury, or even a humanizing pursuit. Its growth mirrors the character of a nation; its tone influences the passion as well as the sentiments of those who encourage it ... . A patriot lover of his young adopted country will welcome with interest the first dawnings of an Australian literatu Not schoolboy exercises that might have been written in London; but racy products, redolent of the soil. If more vigorous than polished, let the defect be pardoned." (10)

The point was well made. Australia was beginning to develop a "character" as a nation, and it was fair to expect that her literature should reflect it. The review represents the beginning of a reaction against the early phase of our literature - a phase marke in theme by an understandable nostalgia for the "homeland" and in style by a tendency towards the artificial and the imitative.

The thirty years that followed saw the reaction intensify and our literature change its tone.

The earliest Australian writers were strangers in a new land and it was inevitable that their work should reflect an exile view. Many emphasised the gloomy character of the landscape in contrast with that of England. Our literature had begun on a grim note. -

"Kangaroo, Kangaroo!
Thou spirit of Australia,
That redeems from utter failure,
And perfect desolation,
And warrants the creation
Of this fifth part of the earth." (11)

Fifty years later the note of disappointment was still audible. Marcus Clarke, although an enthusiastic believer in the future of Australian literature, was nevertheless convinced that "the dominant note of Australian scenery ... is ... Weird Melancholy." (12)

The generation which grew up after 1880 resented this attitude. Native-born for the most part, and therefore taking the Australian scene for granted; moved, moreover, by a fervour born of the new nationalism, it objected to what it considered an alien narrowness of view, and insisted that Australia's variety held sources of inspiration capable of producing a worthy national literature. In A.G. Stephens, prominent literary critic of the 'nine-

ties, this generation found an able spokesman. He took the "alien: to task in language which clearly illustrates the strength of his convictions:

> "When will Englified city critics realise that Australia is country which extends through forty degrees of latitude and thirty-five of longitude and comprehends all climates, all scenery - snow-capped mountain and torrid desert, placid lake and winding river, torrent and brook, charm as well as grandeur, garden and field as well as barren solitude ... Here ... there is a wealth of novel inspiration for the writers who will live Australia's life and utter her messag (13)

The changed point of view may be illustrated by placing the two generations together in a brief comparison. Henry Kingsley, who lived for six years in Australia during the 'fifties, may be taken as a colonial writer of importance - one who was rather unexpectedl biased in favour of the Australian scene. His major novel, Geoffr Hamlyn, was partly written in Victoria and completed after his retu to England.. It is a good novel, picturing well one aspect of colonial Australia. The story centres about a group of Englishmen who spend some time in Australia, experience the common troubles associated with blacks, bushrangers and bushfires, and then return to the "homeland" and the ancestral manor. The book is 'Australia as the term must be interpreted when used of the 'fifties, and it belongs to our literature. But it lost popularity in a singular fashion towards the end of the century, when it was resented as patronising in tone and depreciative of the native-born Australian.

Its bitterest critic was Joseph Furphy, who expressed a forthright contemporary point of view in Such is Life. -

> "Those whose knowledge of the pastoral regions is drawn from a course of novels of the 'Geoffry Hamlyn' class, cannot fail to hold a most erroneous notion of the squatter..... My diary might, just as likely as not, have compelled me to introduce a few of the remaining nine hundred and ninety-fiv types - any type conceivable, in fact, except the slender-witted, virgin-souled, overgrown schoolboys who fill Henry Kingsley's exceedingly trashy and misleading novel with the insufferable twaddle. There was a Squatter of the Sam Buckley type, but .... being too plump of body and exalted of soul for barrow work, and too comprehensively witless for anything else, he was shifted by angels to a better world a world where the Christian gentleman is duly recognised and where Socialistic carpenters, vulgar fishermen an all manner of undesirable people do the washing-up." (14

This is a manifestly unfair assessment; but its hostility illustrates clearly what Joseph Furphy and his generation thought of the earlier, colonial phase of Australian literature, and it stresses the new, democratic outlook which was largely responsible for the reaction against that phase. Both Stephens and Furphy had travelle far along the road pointed out by the Colonial Monthly in 1868.

Another enthusiastic colonial visitor was Douglas Sladen. A writer of verses himself, he went to prodigious trouble in the 'eighties to bring out two anthologies of poetry for the centenary

year (1888) - A Century of Australian Song and Australian Poets. The value of these anthologies is not to be denied; they are comprehensive and represent fairly the best product of the colonial period of Australian verse. But the phase was rapidly passing and it is not surprising to find critics towards the close of the century treating Sladen's selections with open contempt. His attitude may be seen in the preface to Australian Poets where he wrote in eulogistic terms of Australia:

> "Australia has one of those delightful climates conducive to rest in the open air ... ... The middle of the day is so hot that it is really more healthful to lounge about than to have stronger exercise. Sea and air are one unbroken sapphire, shown up in magnificent contrast by the dark olive-green of the native forests and the glittering opal of the sun-smitten hills. The atmosphere is dry champagne. The conditions of existence are easy, the means of subsistence plentiful. Laughter and relaxation are constant." (15)

This is no doubt an honest view, if somewhat floridly expressed; but it was clearly designed to appeal to Englishmen rather than Australians. It was typical of Sladen's enthusiasm for things Australian: he saw them with the eye of a tourist rather than of a permanent resident. In general the poems in his anthologies represent a similar attitude. The verse is often good, but it has little of that fresh vigour which the growing national spirit demanded. For example, Philip J. Holdsworth, whom the editor

praises as "thoroughly Australian", and as making "a distinct contribution to Australian literature", is represented in A Century of Australian Song by a poem entitled "Station-Hunting on the Warrego - an episode in Australian frontier life." It is in conventionally-phrased blank verse and runs for seventeen page: Here is the pattern:

"Two seasons had been parched, sirs, and a third
Flamed droughtier than its fellows, till the grass,
The green, lush grass, grew spoilt by baneful days
And nights that came uncoupled with cool dews.
And musing much on decimated flocks,
And gaunt herds thinned by dearth of sustenance,
Paul cried, one day, to Oscar: 'Are we men?
Ay, men, I say, or marble? Plagues and droughts
Smite the sick land with horrors - yet we stand
Slave-like, and smile at buffets! Comrade, rouse!
And, ere some wide-mouthed ruin swallows all,
Let's seek, far west, some richer pasturing ground.'" (1

This certainly depicts one aspect of the Australia of the pioneer days. But the treatment is artificial and the style imitative. Australian truth dressed in a merely decorative garb lost much of its force. Holdsworth admitted his intention in re-telling the bushman's yarn. -

"I change his rough to smooth, and simply touch
His bare blunt speech with certain chimes of verse." (1

But he made it too smooth, and his chimes were too thin for the subject in hand.

More important than Holdsworth is Charles Harpur, who is represented in Sladen's collection by The Creek of the Four Graves, a poem which pictures the struggle between early settlers and the blacks. Though not lacking in force, it is highly conventional in style. Consider, for example, Harpur's description of some settlers making camp. -

"But, nerved by habit, they all gathered round
About the well-built fire, whose nimble tongues
Sent up continuously a strenuous roar
Of fierce delight, and from their fuming pipes
Drawing rude comfort, round the pleasant light
With grave discourse they planned the next day's deeds.
Wearied at length, their couches they prepared
Of rushes, and the long green tresses pulled
From the bent boughs of the wild willows near." (18)

Cowper and Wordsworth are the obvious models. The phraseology belongs to an idyllic world and is most unsuitable in the Australian setting. Like figures from some fairy-tale are these bushmen who retire to "couches" of "rushes" and willow "tresses". Certainly Tom Collins, of a later generation, would not have recognised them; and Joe Wilson or his friend Mitchell would have been a stranger in their company.

This is not an attempt to belittle Harpur's poetry. His work is many-sided and holds an assured place in Australian

literature. It is the place of a pioneer in poetry - one who is striving to blend new themes with traditional forms. What is to be noted, however, is that Harpur did not secure a happy fusion of the two elements. Thus his work is typical of the period represented by Sladen's anthologies - a period in which imitation was regarded as "polish", and in which the ruggedness of Australian landscape and character had not yet found expression in verse.

The reaction against Sladen was inevitable. We see it in a criticism which appeared in the Bulletin in 1888. The writer, objecting to a ballad entitled A Voice from the Bush, which Sladen had praised highly, claimed that it was unaffectedly English - "all the fashionable glamour that hangs around names like 'Jack Villiers', 'Byng', 'Harry Lepell'; around suggestions of the 'Garrison Cup', 'Brixworth Brook' and 'Berkly Holt' ... make it popular in England." And he added: "It is no manly strain, and there is a world of affection about the Australian bard who could write 'Bill the Bushman' between inverted commas." In the same article P. J. Holdsworth and Francis Adams were summarily dismissed:

> "Mr. P. J. Holdsworth is an antipodean cockney. To read his verses you would think he had never been out of Sydney in his life ... If he is a poet he is not an Australian poet .... Mr. Adams is not an Australian poet either, save in those fine and impassioned verses in which he voices Australian Republican sentiments." (19)

The whole review is contemptuous of Sladen. It is, in this

respect, unfair, as Furphy's diatribe on Kingsley was unfair. But that was the new popular spirit of the times; it demanded an Australian expression of Australian truth, and was utterly opposed to anything that savoured of English patronage or colonial subservience.

There was one poet, however, who bridged the gap between the two periods under discussion, whose poetry was as popular in 1900 as it had been in 1870. This was Adam Lindsay Gordon. The Colonial Monthly, in an article previously quoted, referred to his early poetry thus:

> "In no land but ours could such (verses) be written. You hear the crash of the boughs as he gallops through the scrub ... So vigorous, so fresh and so enthusiastic a worshipper of Nature cannot but improve; and we look forward with some pride, and much hope, to the day when it will be a boast to have discerned his genius in 1868." (20)

It was not long before Gordon justified this view. In 1869 he published in the Australasian a racing poem entitled How We Beat The Favourite.(21) Though ostensibly a 'Lay of the Loamshire Hunt Cup', it was based on Australian rather than English models. The inauguration of the Melbourne Cup (1861) had started a trend towards racing verse - noticeable particularly in Bell's Life in Victoria. The features of such verse were lightness of treatment and considerable play with the names of racehorses. Gordon had contributed some of the best samples. But in How We Beat The Favourite he lifted the theme above the level of ordinary magazine

verse while retaining the mood. It was an immediate success and became a popular piece for recitation.

At the end of 1869 The Sick Stockrider appeared in the Colonial Monthly. It was printed in the Australasian soon afterwards (22) and achieved immediate popularity. The ring of the hoof-beats could be heard in such lines as:

"Aye! we had a glorious gallop after Starlight and his gang,
When they bolted from Sylvester's on the flat;
How the sun-dried reed-beds crackled, how the flint-strewn ranges rang
To the strokes of 'Mountaineer' and 'Acrobat'."

and

"'Twas merry 'mid the blackwoods, when we spied the station roofs,
To wheel the wild scrub cattle at the yard,
With a running fire of stockwhips and a fiery run of hoofs;
Oh! the hardest day was never then too hard!"

Shortly after this success Gordon published From the Wreck, again in the Australasian. (23) In this poem he created the bush ballad as a literary form. There had been songs of adventure and action before, and some roughly-shaped rhyming narratives; but Gordon added the touch of poetry to an Australian story drawn from his own experience. He infused life into the description of the ride:

"But now in the open, lit up by the morn,
She flung the white foam-flakes from nostril to neck,
And chased him - I hatless, with shirt-sleeves all torn
(For he may ride ragged who rides from a wreck) -

And faster and faster across the wide heath
We rode till we raced. Then I gave her her head,
And she - stretching out with the bit in her teeth -
She caught him, outpaced him, and passed him, and led."

The poem has the economy of language and the power of suggestion which are marks of the good ballad. -

"I hung to her head, touched her flank with the spurs
(In that long streak of rail not the ghost of a gap);
She shortened her long stride, and pricked her sharp ears,
She flung it behind her with hardly a rap -
I saw the post quiver where Bolingbroke struck,
And guessed that the pace we had come the last mile
Had blown him a bit (he could jump like a buck).
We galloped more steadily then for a while."

Gordon was the first Australian poet to arouse a wide interest, and we may see in his case the factors that made for popularity. In the first place, he captured the public imagination only when he really pictured something Australian, when he fulfilled the condition set down for a national literature by the critic in the Colonial Monthly. - "its growth mirrors the character of the nation." The poems of 1869 and 1870 dealt with a topic of vital interest to Australians. They were taken up eagerly, learned by heart, recited in sheds and camps throughout the country; and they inspired many imitators. Other poets had appealed to an exclusive literary circle and had been disappointed with their reception; Gordon appealed to those who formed the democratic core of the

nation. They applauded and called for more.

Furthermore, Gordon reached his audience through the pages of a widely-circulated magazine. The general public in Australia had very little interest in books. Kendall and Brunton Stephens won a more immediate recognition in England than in Australia, and Gordon's early attempts at publication were forlorn. Most of the successful stories of the period were first published serially in magazines. A writer had to make an impression through the pages of some journal; later his books might sell.

There had been many Australian periodicals which showed literary interests, and to some extent gave scope for Australian writers. Harpur, Kendall, Gordon, Marcus Clarke, Rolf Boldrewood - all these found an outlet for their work in various journals. As a general rule such periodicals aimed to provide the Australian reader with the same kind of material as appeared in English literary magazines, making their appeal primarily to the better educated classes in the colonies. It was the normal custom to publish stories written by recognised overseas writers. Such material was readily available, and it was seldom considered worthwhile to encourage promising Australian writers. Certainly the Sydney Mail stressed the outback scene; but it was too cautious, too conservative to lead the way in producing local writers. The Australian Journal introduced itself to its readers (1865) with the claim that it would strive to "record the phases of colonial literature"; (24) and it did, in fact, make a considerable contribution to the development of Australian fiction. But its concept of the rôle of

the magazine in this sphere was not encouraging to writers struggling for recognition. Its aim was to have "the ablest Colonial pens of the day ... on our staff." (25) And the casual contributor was warned:

> "Our paid staff being complete, no payment whatever will be made for any contribution sent in." (26)

Such magazines demanded a competence in local contributors which would compare with traditional English standards; and the best writers eventually did find recognition in their columns. But the Australia which was fast developing in the 'eighties had many elements which were not traditional; it was in some respects a new world, and it was demanding new standards, wider opportunities for every man in every field. Australianism was in the air; democracy was a watchword. From the strong feelings engendered by these two movements there came a reaction against an Anglo-Australian literature, and a demand for something vigorous and essentially local. There was a scope for a journal which, embracing both movements, would be ensured of popularity and a wide influence, and, sympathising with the reaction, would encourage and assist those who could satisfy the demand. It would, of necessity, be a radical journal; and it might produce the popular successor to Gordon. Such a journal the Bulletin proved to be.

CHAPTER 2.

Foundation, development and early characteristics of "The Bulletin."

"THE BULLETIN, THE BULLETIN,
The Journalistic Javelin,
The paper all the humour's in,
The paper every rumour's in,
The paper that inspires a grin,
THE BULLETIN, THE BULLETIN."

(B. 28/5/87)

The Bulletin was founded by two enterprising journalists, John Haynes and John Feltham Archibald. The first issue appeared in Sydney on January 31st 1880. Writing twenty-eight years later Archibald answered the question: "Why was the Bulletin founded?" -

> "It was a Cant-ridden community. Cant - the offensive, horrible Cant of the badly-reformed sinner - reigned everywhere. There was no health in the public spirit. Socially, politically, all was mean subservience to a spirit of snobbery and dependency .... Sydney, socially, limped in apish imitation of London ideas, habits, manners. Politically and industrially it was the same. And over all brooded, in law-courts, press and Parliament, the desolating cruelty inherited from 'The System'. Sydney invited revolt from existing conditions, and 'The Bulletin' was the organ of that revolt. It was to stand for more

humanity in the laws, more freedom in the Parliaments, more healthy independence in the press." (1)

This was no doubt a fair summing-up in retrospect. But one feels that it is rather a statement of what the journal achieved in its first twenty-eight years of existence than of the aims of the founders in 1880. Though Archibald felt strongly on such matters from the beginning (as witness his opening attack on capital punishment), both he and Haynes were ready to admit in the 'eighties that their journal was "started with the object of providing its proprietors with bread and butter", (2) and that their principal object was "to please the people around us." (3) The Bulletin was primarily a commercial venture by two men who thought that they knew what kind of a paper the people wanted, and felt that they could provide it.

The principal asset of the founders was a strong combination of enthusiasm and confidence. They introduced the first Bulletin to the public with this manifesto:

"To-day we send broadcast throughout the colonies the first number of 'The Bulletin'. That it goes to an appreciative audience we have no doubt. Excellence is the passport to success in colonial life, and 'The Bulletin' bids to win. The aim of the proprietors is to establish a journal which cannot be beaten - excellent in the illustrations which embellish its pages, and unsurpassed in the vigor, freshness and geniality of its literary contributors. To this end the services of the best men

in the realm of pen and pencil in the colony have been secured, and, fair support conceded, 'The Bulletin' will assuredly become the very best and the most interesting newspaper published in Australia. With our first issue begins a new departure. We give the public what is dic= tated by the result of twenty years' experience on the colonial press. The substance of the ordinary daily and weekly newspaper is gathered by the average reader in a few moments. The public eye rejects as uninteresting more than half of what is printed in the publications of the day. It is only the other half which will be found in 'The Bulletin'." (4)

Such an introduction was not unique; many other papers had proposed to requisition the services of all the best writers available. It is interesting to notice, however, that Haynes wrote the first part of the manifesto, Archibald the conclusion. Haynes was the chief enthusiast, but it was Archibald who had gauged the popular mentality and proposed to give the public the matter it craved for in the tersest possible form. His influence was to predominate.

Brevity was always Archibald's watchword, and it was the outstanding characteristic of the early Bulletin. A. G. Stephens, who probably knew Archibald's editorial qualities better than any-one else, wrote thus of his habit of condensation:

"The dominant factor as interpreted by Haynes and Archibald in the beginning, and as maintained by Archibald as best he

could while he could, came in two words - BREVITY , BRILLIANCY . And as brilliancy is always brief, it came to one word - BRILLIANCY - with Archibald to cut and polish the gem." (5)

The early numbers of the Bulletin were devoted almost entirely to concentrated news and epigrammatic comment. Under such headings as "Facts Focussed" and "News in a Nutshell" there would appear a long list of items such as the following:

"The pursuit and capture of the Kellys cost £40,000"

"The first stallion show held in Mudgee was an 'entire' success."

"The Melbourne Gas Co. decline to allow experts to examine the gas."

"Money seems scarce in Rockhampton. Their new church is progressing very slowly."

"The George-Street asphalt blocks are not eternal."

"The Petersham Railway station is almost finished - being hoped for."

"What the Berry Government can do for the unemployed - clear out of office." (6)

Archibald loved to collect such items of interest under striking captions. Apart from the two mentioned already, columns appeared (all in the same issue) under the headings: "B rief Mention", "Stage Gossip", "Sporting and Athletic Mems.," "Pepper and Salt", "Denominational Drops", "Political Points", "Woman Items", "Fun and Fancy", "Personal Items". The method was not new. Most of

the journals of the previous decade carried their column of news brevities. But Archibald extended the principle until his paper took on the appearance of a long telegram, and added the spice of witty commentary. The policy was completely successful. When, in May 1880, the Editor announced "the complete success of THE BULLETIN", and its imminent enlargement, he promised that the original policy would be maintained. —

> "THE BULLETIN in its enlarged form will not lose sight of the principle which has been so powerful a factor in its success - viz. brevity. In its pages will be found compressed the news of the colonies, divested of that useless and tedious verbiage which has done so much to make the ordinary weekly paper into a ponderous magazine." (7)

Elsewhere, during the first year of publication, Archibald repeated that the style of the paper was its main asset in the struggle for success. In the anniversary number he was explicit:

> "The secret of our success we believe to be very simple. We started level with our times, eschewing antiquated models and superannuated methods." (8)

Moreover he boasted (and not without reason) that the style of the Bulletin was the envy of many of the periodicals of the day.

> "It is no small source of pleasure to find that we, while 'fighting for our own hand', have wrought an improvement in journalism all round." (9)

The Bulletin was conceived in imitation of certain American magazines which featured attractive illustrations of the cartoon

and caricature type. The founders were not slow to make good their early promise to employ the best local artists. William Macleod was then the foremost illustrator in Sydney. It was he who made the sketches for the first number, wherein figured "Nosey Bob", the hangman concerned in the execution of the Wantabadgery bushrangers. Archibald featured this case in an attempt to inflame the popular imagination against capital punishment. In later issue the cartoon proper made its appearance. Most of Macleod's early sketches were unsigned, as indeed was all the work in the paper. On March 13th 1880 there appeared a cartoon satirising the Sydney Municipal Body – the first of a long series of political cartoons. Humorous sketches in the early days were done by Sam Begg, who established himself as an illustrator in the first year of publication.

Early records indicate that the Bulletin met with popular approval. Circulation commenced at 3,000. Within five months it was reported to be 10,000 and the proprietors boasted:

"We undertake to double our present circulation in a month." (10)

They did not make good their boast until another twelve months had passed, but the business was growing steadily. In June 1880 the office was shifted from Castlereagh Street to more elaborate rooms in Bridge Street – "one whole floor or flat in the splendid premises of Messrs. John Woods & Co." (11) The paper was beginning to have an interstate and even an international market. In the issue for June 26 1880 the enthusiastic proprietors stated:

"It has won its way to Melbourne, 350 copies going each week to one agent/..... It has set Hobart Town and Launceston ablaze

and has got three Adelaide judges on its list of subscribers..... It has fifty booked subscribers in San Francisco."

Furthermore, it was being sent to England, Ireland and Scotland, "to show that we are not all bushrangers and politicians out here." (12)

At the end of the first year circulation was "guaranteed" at 16,000, "with a regular increase of several hundreds per month". (13) By the end of 1881 the official circulation was announced as 20,000. (14)

Such figures show that the Bulletin had made a successful beginning. However, the financial position was by no means secure. Haynes and Archibald were doing all they could to make the paper "provide the proprietors with bread and butter"; they were offering popular matter and pushing sales by all means in their power. Yet 16,000 copies at threepence meant a gross receipt of only £200. Even an additional £50 a week from advertisers left them in a constant state of uncertainty. Once at least their printing press was seized by a bailiff and redeemed only with great difficulty. More than once the proprietors paid their bills with cheques drawn late on Saturday, and spent the week-end collecting funds to meet Monday's demand at the bank. And unexpected trouble came from another direction. "Harold Grey", a sparkling but irresponsible leader-writer, brought the Bulletin into the courts. The proprietors became involved in a libel action as a result of one of his articles, and were faced with payment of £1,000 and costs.

But worse was to follow. W. H. Traill, a prominent Sydney journalist , was writing for the Bulletin late in 1880. On New Year's Day 1881, in a leading article headed "The Larrikin Residuum", he attacked the behaviour of frequenters of the Clontarf picnic grounds. The Clontarf authorities sued the Bulletin for defamation of character, and the case caused a sensation. Traill was the principal witness for the defence. He was well-known and respected, and his evidence (coupled with the revelation that he had written the offending article) saved the day. Damages were estimated at one farthing, but the B[illegible] to meet costs to the extent of £1,500. Traill wrote:

> "If THE BULLETIN was on that occasion the medium by which the righteous indignation, the honest warning, of an eye-witness was conveyed to the public, against damages to young people of which parents and guardians could not surely be aware, then we claim that a farthing damages was a monstrous wrong, and that a further penalty of more than a thousand pounds constituted a scourge to be flourished henceforth by the hand of Iniquity as a menace to any who might dream of daring to espouse the cause of public morality." (15)

Things looked ruinous for Haynes and Archibald, who saw no possibility of paying the costs. Public sympathy had been aroused however, and a relief fund was started immediately. In three months £800 had been raised. Traill thanked the subscribers, but added:

> "Injustice has outbidden sympathy by £700, and nothing

now appears possible save that Messrs. Haynes and Archibald shall serve out their term of punishment, to the everlasting disgrace of our laws, and of those who pretend to administer justice." (16)

And to prison they went, early in March 1882. Macleod produced an appropriate sketch under the caption: "'Shutting-up' The Press". Traill, who had meantime assumed the editorship, boomed the Clontarf affair. From prison Archibald continued to write articles, and the Bulletin made much of them under the headings "In the Jug" and "In Quod". Popular feeling continued to support their cause. Two committees were formed, and within three weeks the balance of the £1,500 had been subscribed. The release was a triumph, and Haynes and Archibald returned as popular heroes A public meeting held in their honour on April 24 1882 was well attended, five members of Parliament and the mayor of Ashfield being on the platform. Archibald was unable to attend because of illness, but Haynes made a popular speech and the meeting ended with cheers for the Bulletin.

The whole of the Clontarf case served to bring the Bulletin completely before the public eye. It gained the reputation of a vigorous reforming journal. This, added to the qualities already mentioned, made the new paper extremely popular.

One immediate effect of the Clontarf trial was that W. H. Traill joined the proprietary of the Bulletin. Archibald had been pressing for this for some time, and when the imminent imprisonment of the owners seemed to threaten the existence of

the paper, Traill resolved to go into the business in an attempt to keep it going. His acceptance of the editorship was announced in June 1881. —

> "Messrs. Haynes and Archibald have much pleasure in stating that Mr. W. H. Traill, whose article denouncing a public wrong has been so effective in remedying the evil complained of, and who has heretofore contributed only the leading columns, has accepted the Editorship of THE BULLETIN. It is believed that by placing every department of THE BULLETIN under the supervision of a gentleman of Mr. Traill's reputation and experience, improvements will be effected which will result in THE BULLETIN making its way into every household in the colonies where it is not already to be found." (17

It is doubtful whether the paper would have survived but for Traill's decision to throw in his lot with Archibald and Haynes. He found little enough to promise success. Writing later, he stated

> "I was proprietor simply of the copyright and goodwill of a threepenny weekly paper to which were attached sundry advertising contracts, the responsibility for contingent liabilities in connection with various inchoate libel actions and the cost of the recent action; but not a stick of type nor a single article of machinery." (18)

Traill's advent, however, put new life into the paper. He was a good business man, and he set out to establish the Bulletin on a firm financial footing An admirer of American and English

illustrated papers, he realised that what the Bulletin needed to ensure popularity was a master-cartoonist. Moreover, it was apparent that Australian methods of cartoon reproduction were not up-to-date. Given a talented black-and-white artist and American printing processes, the Bulletin might increase its circulation immensely. A net profit of £1,200 a year was not satisfactory to a business man like Traill. So to America he went in search of "a humorous artist of the first rank".(19) Such a one he found in Livingstone Hopkins - "Hop" to readers of the Bulletin for the next twenty years. Encouraged by his acquisition, Traill put out an improved Bulletin at sixpence a copy. Sales dropped immediately, from 22,000 to a final low ebb of 14,000. But the paper was better and was reaching an ever-widening market. Before long circulation figures showed a steady increase. In 1886 the Christmas number sold out an edition of 82,560 copies. (20)

However, this is anticipating a little. Meanwhile Traill had been to England to secure the services of a second comic artist. After much trouble he succeeded in engaging Phil May, then a promising but practically unknown London portraitist. At the same time Traill introduced into Australia, through the Bulletin the process of zinc etching. His magazine became by far the most attractive weekly paper in Australia.

"Hop" joined the Bulletin in 1883, Phil May in 1885. The period when they worked together was a happy one for the paper. Of Phil May, Lionel Lindsay wrote:

> "From beginning to end he was a character artist, and his capacity for getting a likeness and for expression has never been surpassed". (21)

May's technical skill and his easy execution were his great attributes. His facility in depicting nationalities and types made him an ideal journal cartoonist. His Chinamen in the Bulletin were famous, as were the various types he sketched in the series: "What I see when I go out with a gun". Political personalities were also fair game.

"Hop" was a cartoonist proper. He was a man of ideas and his skill in expressing them pictorially was his great asset. His cartoons "gave you at once the idea of a born cartoonist" — one who "reads the daily papers, readily catches the queer side of things or detects shams which he then treats with all the power and humour of a Cervantes". (22)

The combination of two such expert black-and-white artists on the same paper made it pre-eminent among Australian magazines. The Bulletin from 1885 to 1888 was magnificent in the profusion of its witty and satirical sketches. And its circulation steadily grew.

Archibald freely admitted his debt to Traill and the latter's contribution to the reputation of the Bulletin. In 1907 he wrote:

> "Traill was the first man to mount a 12-inch gun on THE BULLETIN ramparts. Before Traill's day we were puny little paragraphists - hurlers of squibs merely. From this time

onwards THE BULLETIN became a formidable piece of ordnance, a solid political and social power." (23)

It was Traill, not Archibald, who gave the Bulletin its national character. By the end of 1882 it was confidently - even arrogantly - asserting its right to direct national policy. For the elections late in that year THE BULLETIN Programme was displayed prominently on the front page. It was a forthright statement:

"'Australia for the Australian' - not for Gall-soaked Bigots - not for Bloody Quarrels of Old-World superstition

---

If you vote for Parkes, you vote for the Government which hanged a nigger and dared not hang an equally guilty white - for a Government which thinks no man should be black on the outside.

Let your liquor law be one which encourages good hotels, snuffs out low grog-shops and is opposed to down-the-harbour larrikins and their hosts. No holy measuring of your beer. No holy law as to when you shall drink". etc., etc. (24)

One of the first causes championed by Traill was that of Irish Home Rule. Before long the Bulletin became renowned for its almost insane advocacy of the cause of any country subject to Britain. It was bitter in 1885 over the matter of the Australian contingent sent to the Soudan. It could see no justice in Britain's claim to supremacy there. Bulletin

feeling at the time was expressed in a long verse address to the Soudan contingent, which read, in part:

"You've been slavered by General Graham,
And sent to the Front with the Guards -
Now, ponder the words and well weigh them,
Of one of THE BULLETIN bards.
....
Did you know that the Soudan existed
Before Dalley's voice made it boom?
Did you ask yourself, ere you enlisted,
What right Gordon had in Khartoum?
Did you say, 'After all England may not
Be just to the swarms by the Nile'?
Did you think it? Well, no, we should say not,
And knowing you well, we should smile.
... ...
And we love England well - nowhere better,
Saving this bright young land of our own -
Still, we would not assist her to fetter
Black wrists, iron-worn to the bone!
Dear we hold the land mighty and stately,
Isled far in the grey Northern Sea -
We are English, while England acts greatly,
But thereafter her enemies we." (25)

By thus supporting various dependent countries in their struggles against British domination, the Bulletin was indirectly championing a nationalistic spirit in Australia. It was not,

however, content with the mere indirect approach. Australia for the Australians was its motto from the beginning; and the attack against outsiders was conspicuous for its bitterness where England was concerned. In June 1887, after promising a special issue for Queen Victoria's golden jubilee, it brought out a number which was positively abusive. The general tone may be seen in the following extract from a long verse essay entitled Australia to England - probably the work of John Farrell.

"By God we will not cheer! Let Laureates slobber
In jargon verses at so much a line
Your queen and every semi-royal robber
Who sucks existence from the Right Divine;
Let noise be loud, and many a flaring comet
Inflame the sky from streets and forts and ships;
Let Halloran out-puke the latest vomit
Of him your new-made Peer of new-made lips.

We cannot be as these; Your mighty nation
We honour most, and owe allegiance to,
But will not stoop to lend our approbation
To every weak, unmanly thing you do;
Your Queen is a mere Queen - the automatic
Gilt figurehead that decks your ship of State -
What - more than gilt! We are not so emphatic
As you, and so we will not jubilate." (26)

So, too, while everybody was busy celebrating the centenary of the foundation of Australia (1888), the Bulletin was loud in

its cry of 'shame!' for our early (convict) history and in its contention that we should have no reason to rejoice until English domination had been cast off. Allowing enthusiasm to outrun commonsense, it suggested two speeches for the occasion. Under the heading The Day We Celebrate was printed the following:

> "Our earlier history would disgrace an Ashanta Sultan. The pages are stained with blood, with cool, deliberate, but judicial murder. They smell of the gaol; they are marked with the rust print of gyves; they are bruised and branded with the lash. ..... One hundred years are past, and we are still fettered bondsmen of the taskmasters put in authority over us. And the fetters are the more galling in as much as they are not now in all cases so tangible. ..... Where PHILLIP landed white men have had to fight with coolies and with Chinamen for the drudgery that will enable them to gain the pittance that buys the bread of dependence, while the descendants of those same historic rulers are quietly and luxuriously enjoying the unquestioned possession of noble stretches of the people's land. New South Wales has never been wholly emancipated." (27)

The other speech, entitled The Day We Ought To Celebrate, appeared in juxtaposition to the above. In part it ran thus:

> "Revolt is the parent of reform; and, though Eureka Stockade fades into insignificance when placed beside Bunker's Hill, the meaning and impulse in each case of armed resistance is the same. In the dusky dawn, when the hired soldiers of

> Imperialism crept forward to take by storm the rude barricade erected by the insurgent citizens; when the ringing voice of LALOR thundered out upon the damp air of the morning; when, with the glistening dew beading their unshorn beards, the stalwart diggers gripped with brown hands and swung aloft with brawny naked arms the clubbed musket; then - then was heard in each heart an echo of the shot fired by the New England farmer which won a Nation's freedom and gave mankind another lease of hope ..... 'Tis the memory of the day that Australia set her teeth in the face of the British Lion, December 3rd, 1854 - the day we ought to Celebrate."

By 1888 the Bulletin had established a reputation as a rabid advocate of Australian nationalism in its most insular form and as a fierce antagonist of Britain. Almost inevitably it took the lead in attacking social abuses, most of which it considered had their roots in old-world class distinctions and institutions. The Bulletin was, in fact, chief champion of the Australian democracy already noticed, which insisted primarily on the importance and worth of the common man, and suspected hypocrisy amongst all in positions of authority. In the Christmas number of 1887, under the title THE BULLETIN to the Universe, and headed by an elaborate sketch depicting the Bulletin, in the guise of St. George, vanquishing the fearsome dragon "Humbug", there appeared an 800-line statement in verse of what the paper claimed to have done for Australia. It is an interesting summary, and, since it conveys a good impression of the argument

assertiveness of the Bulletin of 1887, may be quoted at some length. —

"You've heard our history. We have done some things
Already, anyhow. Down Clontarf way
We once went picnicing, and witnessed rum things,
And told the world of what we saw next day,
While all the Sydney journals stood as dumb things,
Because they reckoned candour didn't pay.
We saw but mandrake where their eyes saw lily,
And, therefore, did a stretch on 'toke and skilly!.

... ...

..... If you have recollection
You'll know we've always strongly urged Protection.

And our intention is to strongly urge it
Until it has grown law - not very long;
We're dead against the lash, and mean to scourge it
And its high priests with our own little thong.
Can brutalism lift up our race and purge it
Of vice, or violence, or doing wrong?
No - quite the other way - look up the merry
Old-time recitals writ by Roger Therry.

We're for Home Rule - you here us say we're for it?
And Ireland yet will have it come to be -
That wretched isle that has played Little Dorrit
To England's Father of the Marshalsea;

A selfless serf. It shall have Home Rule! nor it
Alone, but in Time's lordlier fulness we
Will knit our millions in a shining nation,
A later, manlier, freer Federation.

We're for Land Tax, and not another tax on
The face of earth. Men have too long been blind,
Too long the patient, workful Anglo-Saxon
Has wrought for lusty idlers of his kind;
Too long the weight has lain the weakest backs on,
But we will clarify the public mind
Till through the land, on farms, in mines and forges,
Shall blossom a young crop of Henry Georges.

We love not the foul Mongol. This we've shown in
Our recent utterances; he must go;
We love and strive to free all slaves who groan in
Whatever bondages, to lift from woe
All fellow beings; we dare stand alone in
The van of those who lift the veils and show
On Kingcraft's lying face, and Priest-craft's features
Some marks God never set upon his creatures." (28)

Politically and socially, then, the Bulletin was radical. Its superb self-confidence in making dogmatic and dictatorial utterances set it apart from contemporary journals, and ensured public interest, especially among the growing democratic class. By dressing its opinions in glib verse and witty paragraph it

made them all the more forceful. The Bulletin of 1888 was very popular.

In 1884 Haynes had sold his Bulletin shares to William Macleod and had left the paper. Traill withdrew in April 1886, leaving the business on a firm footing. Archibald became editor again. He knew his limitations, and realised that he was fitted to be neither manager nor political writer. Shrewdly, however, he picked men who could fill these positions. He induced Macleo to come into the business completely and take over the position of general manager. Macleod brought to the Bulletin "artistic judgment, organising power, business acumen, and a diplomatic faculty for managing men". (29) From 1886 onwards Archibald was free to devote all his time to editorial duties and was relieved of all responsibility in managing the business. He and Macleod worked well together. Macleod held three-quarters of the shares at the time of his assuming the position of manager, but insisted on sharing equal partnership with Archibald. The association was a particularly happy one for the Bulletin. Frank Fox wrote in 1907:

> "It was the beginning of a partnership which was extraordinarily prosperous, both in profits and friendship. Macleod thoroughly reorganised THE BULLETIN from the business standpoint, and set it in the current of generous prosperity which has carried it along since: he was a guide of quiet wisdom to his partner without attempting to be a hampering check". (30)

Macleod was a successful manager for the firm until his retire-

ment in 1927.

To replace Traill as political writer Archibald selected James Edmond, a Scotsman, who was at that time working for the Rockhampton (Qld.) Morning Bulletin. It was Edmond's humorous writings which attracted Archibald, his potentialities as a political writer that caught Traill's attention. He joined the Bulletin staff as junior sub-editor in 1886. Frank Fox, writing twenty years later, claimed:

> "That was really the beginning of THE BULLETIN of the present day." (31)

For a few years Edmond assisted in all departments, writing leaders or dramatic criticisms or general notes. His humour found an outlet in a special Brickbat column; and, under the pen-name "Titus Salt", he contributed light verse and anecdote. However, it was in the political and economic field that he eventually became a prominent figure. Traill had established the Bulletin on an Australia-wide basis: in the years immediately before and after Federation it was Edmond who ensured that it played a leading part in national affairs.

Though never trained in finance, he had a mind which could grapple with large-scale fiscal theory. The mining booms of the late 'eighties and early 'nineties gave birth to the Wild Cat Column which has been a feature of the Bulletin ever since. Edmond took charge of it early and gradually expanded it until it grew into a new periodical - The Wild Cat Monthly.

He conducted a vigorous campaign against overseas borrowing, advocated decentralisation by the formation of more states, and directed Federal policy by his series of articles (later published as a pamphlet) under the heading: Policy for Commonwealth. The Labour Party platform was adopted largely from Edmond's Bulletin manifestos. In short, the Bulletin at the turn of the century had become a paper that no politician or financier could afford to neglect. That such was the case was du mainly to the immense energy, clear thinking and powerful prose style of James Edmond. When he retired in 1916 Arthur Adams paid graceful tribute to his achievements:

"They found for him an office and a desk,
Wherein his imp grotesque
Grew sober: from an empty continent,
Peopled with snarling tribes, in hatred pent,
Creating with his grim magician's pen
A Commonwealth of Men.
So from his inkpot he drew forth a fleet,
An Army corps complete;
He thought in continents for he alone
Had got a continent that was his own
To think in; and he sowed therein the seed
Whence sprang the Anzac breed." (32)

Because of the various factors mentioned in this chapter, the Bulletin of the 'nineties and the early years of the new century was the most widely-read paper in Australia. Tributes to its popularity are not lacking. The Office letter paper of

that period carried about a dozen of them. Thus:

"Mark Twain: THE BULLETIN - the most typical paper of purely Australian type.

David Christie Murray: In my travels through Australia I found THE BULLETIN everywhere, and everywhere found it powerful.

Hon. C. G. Kingston (Premier, S.A.): The brightest and most brilliant journal in the Southern Hemisphere - THE BULLETIN .... all honour to it.

Daily Chronicle (London): The Christmas number of the Sydney BULLETIN is an astonishing number, of great bulk and of more remarkable literary quality than any other paper of the kind that has been given to the world sinc the earliest days of London Punch.

Standard (New York): The Sydney BULLETIN, without doubt the most popular and powerful of al the Australian weekly papers."

In 1905 Richard Jebb wrote thus of the Bulletin in his book, Studies in Colonial Nationalism:

"It is absurd to affect indifference nowadays towards a journal which has become nothing less than an imperial institution. For it has attained a circulation which is Australasian and more. To the remotest limits of

> settlement, in every Australian state, ragged back numbers of "The Bulletin" form the literature of shearers' hut and miners' camp. The pink cover is no less familiar in New Zealand, and catches the traveller's eye upon the bookstalls of Manila and Hong Kong, Singapore and Colombo. Even farther afield it seems to find a demand which testifies to its unique position among colonial journals. It is sent regularly to agencies not only in London but also in San Francisco and Vancouver, and in the principal towns of South Africa, where the influx of Australians during the war may have opened the door to a permanent market for a publication which somehow fits the antipodean temperament. Whatever the explanation, students of Empire cannot afford to ignore a unique journalistic influence which has expanded over the two Southern continents and along the margins of the Pacific." (33)

Such was the Bulletin - a vigorous journal, unconventional in style, rabidly democratic in spirit, enthusiastically Australian, extremely popular and widely circulated. It was a medium through which a popular Australian literature might be encouraged: its pages could afford local writers a wide audience; with its influence it could direct the development of a national literature. And it so happened that the early flourishing years of the Bulletin coincided with the appearance of the first distinctively Australian writers and rhymers. Much depended on Bulletin policy. Fortunately the man who directed that policy was Archibald,

"Whose fiery commonsense awoke the new
Nation that drowsed beneath our skies of blue,
And found for it a living voice at last." (34)

CHAPTER 3.

J. F. ARCHIBALD.

"The songs we sang to a land unsung
As yet, and taught by his guiding tongue,
The lines we wrote when our hearts were young
Are Archibald's monument."

Henry Lawson (B.18/9/19) (1)

"Probably," wrote Vance Palmer, "THE BULLETIN would have died after a short burst of promising activity ... if of its two founders one had not been an editor of genius." (2)

John Feltham Archibald was the first editor of the Bulletin. At the time of its foundation he was a young man of twenty-four. He was born in Geelong in 1856. His father, Joseph Archibald, was a Lancashire man who had come out to Melbourne in 1852 as a police sergeant - one of a band sent out specially for gold escort duty in the days of the great Ballarat boom. His mother was also from Lancashire. The lad was brought up in the thriving town of Warrnambool. Joseph Archibald was a man of education and had literary interests. His daughter remembered his books. -

"He had an excellent collection of the classics, including many early editions which would be of value now. Unfortunately we were all allowed to read them as we pleased, and I have few left." (3)

And Archibald himself recalled:

"His favorite English author was Charles Lamb, for whom

his love amounted to idolatry; he knew almost by heart every line Lamb had written." (4)

One incident recorded by Archibald in his memoirs is of interest in view of his later editorial work. -

"When I was eleven or twelve years old, my father ... got me to read aloud Lamb's essay on Roast Pig. Whereupon I confidently remarked that I liked the essay, but was certain I would be able to write something quite as clever." (5)

The father, pleased, insisted on the necessity of classical studies, which John Feltham thereafter pursued at a private school until he was nearly fifteen. An apprenticeship with the Warrnambool Examiner left him with a deal of skill in the technical processes of printing and a desire to become a journalist. He went to Melbourne, but found that it had little to offer to an enthusiastic young reporter. Having worked as an extra hand on the Evening Herald, and earned money at the rate of fifty shillings for a 90-hour week on the Melbourne Daily Telegraph, Archibald temporarily deserted the journalistic career and took a job in the Education Department. Here he was rash enough to expose the ignorance of a mountebank Minister for Education. Forced to withdraw from educational circles, he went north to take a clerk's position in Maryborough (Qld.). After some experience there and in the far north, he went to Sydney and turned to journalism. In 1880, in conjunction with John Haynes, he started the Bulletin. (6)

Archibald was first a radical and secondly a fanatical nationalist; and his paper developed accordingly. But he was

interested in literature and by temperament a supporter of the reaction against the Anglo-Australian tone amongst our writers. There is no evidence of any plan to encourage the work of Australians until after 1886. When, in that year, with the Bulletin well established, he came back as editor, he had apparently decided on a programme of active assistance which was in keeping with his democratic and nationalistic ideas. He appealed, not to the well-known, professional writers, but to the general body of his readers; and he asked for contributions which would be original, vigorous and interesting. After 1886 this Notice to Artistic and Literary Contributors appeared regularly in the Bulletin

> "Strictly original matter contributed to THE BULLETIN will be paid for. The Editor will be glad to receive and consider contributions as under:
>
> 1. Original humorous or political matter, illustrated or otherwise .....
> 2. Unpublished anecdotes of living celebrities, or people who ought to be celebrated.
> 3. Humorous poems (from eight to fifty lines preferred).
> 4. Serious poems, of similar or greater length, especially those suitable for pictorial illustration.
> 5. Short Australian or other stories, up to, say, 3,000 words. About half that length, or even less will be preferred."

This was the programme to which Archibald worked thereafter.

His desire was that there should be many contributors, and that they should come from the wide audience which the Bulletin was reaching by 1886. He insisted on the power of the ordinary person to speak with authority in his own sphere. One of his stock editorial notices was:

> "'Every man can write at least one 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 (7)

In a letter to Joseph Furphy (1890) he reiterated his demand for anecdotes, and indicated where his preference lay - in the direction of bush oddities. -

> "Can't you send us some short, sharp paragraphs about people who are, or ought to be celebrated, or some interesting bush reminiscences or short stories?" (8)

The bush yarn was specially provided for in the Aboriginalities column which appeared first on November 3rd 1887. The caption became a regular column-heading about the middle of 1888, and the column extended later to a page - "a sort of perpetually burning camp-fire around which bushmen could sit and swap experiences." (9) The contributors to Aboriginalities wrote in a style marked by complete lack of self-consciousness: the freedom of tone of the Bulletin allowed them to write as

they felt inclined. Archibald demanded not that their paragraphs should be "literary" in the accepted sense of that term, but that they should be concise and natural.

This kind of journalism was new; it fitted in with the general character of the Bulletin; and it was popular. The voice of the real Australia was speaking through Archibald's many paragraphers. The Australian, just awakening to a sense of national pride, and often moved by a new democratic fervour, saw in the Bulletin a natural field for expression. Presently there came what Archibald had asked for - "humorous poems .... serious poems .... short Australian stories" - all just as true in their response to Australian conditions as the paragraphs were. They found their place naturally in the Bulletin and Archibald, as editor, welcomed and encouraged their writers.

His encouragement was notably practical. In all his appeals for contributions he emphasised his willingness to pay the casual writer. In this respect Archibald was breaking new ground in the Australian literary world. Payment hitherto had been made to regular contributors only, and newcomers found it very difficult to break into the established circle. Archibald, wishing to put new life into the literary sections of his paper by broadening the base of its contributions, threw its columns open to the general public, and was generous in his payment for every contribution accepted. He found that there were many who were anxious to write on this basis.

One of Archibald's early protegés was Barcroft Boake,

who wrote some good verses reflecting the spirit of the out-back. Amongst his letters preserved in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, are several to his father, in which, among other things, he mentions appreciatively the fact that the editor of the Bulletin was generous and helpful. On October 19th 1891, he wrote:

> ".... I am glad you like the 'Demon S(now) S(hoes)'. Mr. Archibald says it is excellent but handicapped by the fact of the G.P. being incredulous as to the existence of snow in the colony. As to payment, I think they'll give me a guinea; that is what they gave me for 'On the Range'. £1.1.0 per column, I think, is what they give. Did you see 'Twixt the Wings of the Yard' in last Saturday's Bulletin? I don't suppose you will altogether care for it . There ought to be 'A Digger's Song' in tomorrow's I know it's in type. They have some more of mine, so you may see them in a week or so." (10)

Boake was a simple and rather melancholy bushman to whom something of the poet's vision had been granted. In another letter to his father he discloses his feelings:

> "There is a pleasure in the mad gallop; or in watching the dawn of day in a cattle camp ..... I seem to be in another world. If I could only write it there is a poem to be made out of the back-country. Some man will come yet who will be able to grasp the romance of Western Queensland and all that equally mysterious country

> in Central and Northern Australia. For there is a Romance, though a grim one - a story of drought and flood, fever and famine, murder and suicide, courage and endurance." (11)

Archibald recognised something of the genuine poetic sensibility in Boake, and encouraged him to write. His letters to his father speak of his enthusiasm, and list various poems he has in hand or has sent to the Bulletin. But his melancholy finally got the better of him and he hanged himself with his stockwhip in the bush near Sydney. His last written communication referred to his work and to Archibald. On a library ticket found in the dead man's pocket was written:

> "Give 'Jack Corrigan' and 'Featherstonhaugh' to Mr. Archibald; he will pay you for them." (12)

Boake stands as an example of a potential poet who was given scope for development by friendly encouragement and generous assistance on the part of Archibald. He was one of the many whom the enthusiastic young editor so helped.

Even more important than money to the prentice writer is appreciation. It was part of Archibald's policy to give personal encouragement when he found real literary ability. Vance Palmer comments:

"There never was an editor swifter and more generous than Archibald in his appreciation of the bright phrase or the

unexpected quirk of humour. Busy as he was, he sent out countless little words of praise in his hurried, personal scrawl. All over the continent he was encouraging men to express themselves about the things that most interested them." (13)

To encourage Boake, for example, he wrote;

"Dear Sir, - Shall be glad to publish your pretty and melodious verses; they may be kept for Xmas and illustrated. Cheque will follow in due course. Hoping to hear from you shortly. Yrs, etc.

J.F. Archibald." (14)

Another letter was written to W. A. Boord, of Mount Martha, Mornington, Victoria. Boord had written a poem entitled, The Dead March of the Waters, which had been published in the Bulletin on September 1st 1894. On October 9th of the same year Archibald wrote:

"Dear Sir,

I am a very busy man and have little time for writing to contributors, but must spare a few moments to tell you how pleased everybody here who has read it is with your 'Dead March of the Waters' - one of the most poetically suggestive pieces which have reached this office for a long while. I only wish we were publishing THE BULLETIN in a constituency so wide as to give us some chance of expressing our sentiments boldly in cash.

Hoping to hear from you, I am, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

J.F. Archibald. (15)

In other ways, too, Archibald encouraged his writers. His word of praise for Henry Lawson was public. Lawson's first Bulletin poem appeared on October 10th 1887. It was entitled A Song of the Republic, and was a call to Australians to break away from overseas domination. It appealed to Archibald, and when Lawson's second poem - The Wreck of the Derry Castle - appeared two months later the editor printed this note with it:-

> "In publishing the sub-joined verses we take pleasure in stating that the writer thereof is a boy of 17 years, a young Australian, who has as yet had an imperfect education and is earning a living under some difficulties as a house-painter - a youth whose poetic genius here speaks eloquently for itself." (16)

To the writers who made personal contact with Archibald, he was the most affable and approachable of men. Thorold Waters, an early associate of Archibald, and one who did much journalistic work abroad, wrote:

> "Among all the editors I have encountered Archibald was the most approachable; probably that was the secret of his eclectic wisdom. His room, in almost abject premises, was from the first open to me at any time, stripling as I was, and I always entered it undeterred by any misgivings, unobsequious yet slightly deferential as a 19 teens and

> early twenties ought to be ... Archibald's approachable attitude must have been a lure for such as diffident Henry Lawson." (17)

Florence Blair once complained to James Edmond:

> "Any man in George-street seems to be able to walk up these stairs and say how the paper ought to be run."

To which Edmond replied:

> "Any man does every day and all day long; men from Hay, men from Bourke, men from the Never-Never, telling us just what they would do if they were in the chair for the week." (18)

Archibald seemed possessed of an instict which led him to recognise the potential writer, and an innate power to infuse confidence into those whom he selected. Louis Becke apparently had no thought of a literary career until he met Archibald. Yet that meeting had an immediate and lasting effect. He has told the story himself:

> "I had returned to Sydney from the Caroline Islands, pretty well broken down with malarial fever and deadly hard up, when I one day met the late Ernest Favenc, who asked me to come along with him and 'have a talk' with Mr. J.F. Archibald, editor of THE BULLETIN. I did so, and on the following day wrote my first story of the South Seas. It was entitled 'Challis the Doubter'. Mr. Archibald liked it, and told me to write more. The result was a collection

of short tales and sketches, which I entitled 'By Reef and Palm'. The Editor of THE BULLETIN sent copies of the book to Harry Massingham, editor of the London 'Daily Chronicle', who offered the collection to Fisher Unwin. He was willing to buy the copywright for £15. (THE BULLETIN had paid about £70.) Mr. Archibald advised me to write to Mr. Unwin, and tell him that if he could only offer me £15 I would keep my stories to read to my friends in Heaven. Then Unwin sprang another £50, and the little book appeared. But months before I had slung my scrub-hook and was writing other stories for THE BULLETIN, and getting square meals from the proceeds thereof. The second volume consisted of 17 BULLETIN stories, which I also sent to Unwin. He paid me £200 for 'THE EBBING OF THE TIDE'; it was then that Messrs. Archibald and Macleod told me to go to London; and they financed me to the extent of £200." (19)

Becke went to London, and later had great success as a writer in England and the West Indies. He concluded his account of his debt to the Bulletin with this tribute to Archibald. -

"Whatever literary success I may have achieved is due entirely to the training I received from the Editor of THE BULLETIN, who taught me the secrets of condensation and simplicity of language." (20)

Fred Broomfield, who wrote for the Bulletin for more than half a century, recalls how he was given his commission and set

on the road to a literary career: -

> "Some time in 1885 I received a BULLETIN memo form on which was written:
>
> 'Dear B - Call and see me - Yours, A'.
>
> I answered the laconic message in person and thus began a friendship which lasted for thirty-four years." (21)

When Miles Franklin published her first book - My Brillian Career - she sent a complimentary copy to Archibald with a covering letter which read, in part,:

> "In '99 I sent you an MS. You, or 'Alex Montgomery' fo you, wrote to me and said you hadn't time to read it, but from glances here and there thought the story well-written and gave me some good information - advice. It was the first honest letter I received since attempting fledgeling gyrations in a pen-and-ink career and I shall always remember it.
>
> The scribbling submitted to you was the rough draft of this yarn...." (22)

Of this ability of Archibald's to recognise the promising writer, A.G. Stephens writes:

> "His instinct became marvellous, with experience. The mere look of a passage of copy, nine times out of ten, carried him half-way to judgment; a finger that fluttered the pages, an eye that caught an impression five times in ten carried him the rest of the way. Only so could he have tested the mass of

BULLETIN contributions, in some later years approachi
the number of a thousand a week." (23)

Archibald's almost prodigal generosity and encouragement won him the affection and almost the veneration of many young writers. In time he assumed something of the rol of a Maecenas in the eyes of an enthusiastic band which, by his encouragement, he had almost brought into existence. Of the thrill of being asked by Archibald to write something fo the Bulletin, let one of its long-span contributors, Roderic Quinn, speak. -

"I stood one evening at the top of Butler's Steps in Victoria-street with J.F. Archibald and my brother, P.E. Quinn.....I remember that while we loitered there all the heights of Darlinghurst and Potts Point were made bright with the last lights of a summer day, while beneath us the disordered roofs of Wooloomooloo lay in shadow.

The scene so appealed to me that I quoted a couple of lines from that perfect piece of artistry, Daley's 'Sunset Fantasy'. 'Just so', said Archibald approvingly, 'the shadow of the sail and the sunset glow'. Then we fell silent for a space, watching the dusk deepen over the lower Domain, over the narrow streets below us, over a schooner with brown sails that slowly moved across the bay. At the end of that space of silence, quite abruptly, Archibald said to me,

'Write us a story and bring it in next week.'
Lifted to what heights I know not by his parting words for was it not something to put inches on the stature of a young writer to receive such a commission from such a man? - I went home thinking all the way of what I would write.

I sat writing far into the night and far into the following day, and, having finished my story, which I thought might possibly be worthy of publication, I posted it to the familiar address . . . I waited throu a week, charged with hopes and fears, before setting out to learn its fate, and, as I entered the office, I found Archibald on the ground floor conversing with Henry Lawson. He gave me a nod and said, 'See Edmond' On the floor above I saw Edmond . . . He gave me a whimsical smile, gave me a handshake, gave me a docket. 'Take the docket down to Brennan', he said, 'and good luck'. Brennan was then cashier . . . I gave him the docket and received gold in exchange for it. How fine it was to be paid in gold - how like real payment! Outside the office Lawson waited for me. And together we took our way to a little dingy public house on Miller's Point, where, with four sailors fresh from sea, we spent a jovial afternoon." (24)

For many young Australian writers it was a dream fulfilled and a first step on the road to literary fame to have their work published in the Bulletin. Harold Mercer recalls thus

the thrill of his first appearance in print:-

"My own glow came with the publication of my first story when I was 18. I had already contributed light verse and paragraphs and felt some glow of achievement; but the story spelt SUCCESS! When, surreptitiously turning the pages of a BULLETIN on a bookstall, I saw that story, the world seemed to rock. Controlling an impulse to tell the stall-owner about it, I bought a paper. The firm of lawyers for which I worked got short weight of service that day. At least a score of times I turned to verify the fact that it really was my story in THE BULLETIN. The paper lay on my desk, an invitatio to the staff to ask what was in it this week. I talked about cartoons and jokes, and then, trying to be casual, added, 'There's a little story of my own on the back page'.

The paper went out with me at mid-day. We lunched together at Wynyard square. I tried to read the rest of it, but invariably found myself staring at my own share of the production. I broke the news at home after tea, remarking, as off-handedly as I could, 'By the bye, there's a story of mine in that paper I brought home'. After reading the story my mother had the idea of buying up the whole issue and burning it; but pride won over her shock. The story cost me a reputation as a white-headed boy, and mothers of daughters, instead of

specially asking me to act as an escort to their treasures, kept a watchful eye on me subsequently. But to one of my critical friends who commented that the story might have been the work of 'an old roue of fifty', I wrote a letter which included the phrase 'we literary people'. That itself was an indication of what the story meant to me." (25)

On February 16th, 1891, Barcroft Boake wrote to his sister from a survey camp at Carabosh, near Germanton: -

"To-night is the proudest moment of my life. I feel that at last I have my foot on the first rung of the ladder that leads to fame. I have just got a letter from the editor of THE BULLETIN, acknowledging some verses ... I nearly jumped out of my skin when I got it - I was so surprised .... This letter is rather egotistical; but I felt I must write to someone or die." (26)

Encouragement is a great thing and is sometimes sorely needed. It was needed when Archibald was editor of the Bulletin. But it was important that it should be a discriminating encouragement. It was not enough to provide an organ which would publish the literary efforts of a generation which felt impelled to write in a new fashion; it was necessary also to guide the steps of the would-be literary craftsmen. Archibald had much submitted to him that was crude; his sifting job was enormous. He started an Answers

to Correspondents column, wherein he gave short shrift to the worthless and urged the mediocre to do better. S. Talbot-Smith had his introduction to the Bulletin and Archibald through this column. He wrote later:

> "My own first appearance in THE BULLETIN, in the early 'nineties, was a terse and unforgettable note in the 'Answers to Correspondents' Column:
>
> 'S.T.S. : You cavort too much.'
>
> The word isn't in all the dictionaries; but Webster admits it guardedly (as being 'U.S.', and 'Local slang' at that) meaning to prance ostentatiously. Criticism one supposes, of a high stepping style which displays on the spot instead of pulling up sharply and getting somewhere. Well, I soon learned moderation in style, and thus began an association which, for un-broken weekly regularity can hardly have been equalled - certainly not by anyone operating at a distance of 1000 miles from the George-street base. Yet verbiage was the taste of the day; and if I 'cavorted' it was in good company." (27)

Archibald coached the promising writer. Fred J. Broomfield records :

> "He worked like a lapidary for months over Louis Becke's 'By Reef and Palm'. To use his own expression, he wanted every sentence to shine like a star." (28)

A.G. Stephens adds the assurance:

> "For stories like 'By Reef and Palm' he was collaborator

rather than editor. Indeed his conception of the editorial function was always that of a collaborator." (29)

J.B. Dalley paid an appropriate tribute in verse to his old master:

"His was the swift, unerring eye
Which saw the glitter in the sand;
Phrases and thoughts took shape and glowed
Beneath the magic of his hand.
Behind the acid scorn that flays
He had the royal skill to praise." (30)

Archibald was essentially an editor, with the weekly problem of shaping material to fit the requirements of his journal. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that he preached the doctrine of "brevity" incessantly to his literary contributors. His manifesto (already quoted - P. 49) in which he claimed that 'every man can write at least one book' concluded thus:

"1,360 words go to a column. If you can possibly keep your story within a column all the better. Don't write a column on any subject if a half-column will do; don't write half a column where a mere paragraph is enough. 'Boil it down'." (31)

As a motto Archibald recommended the following quatrain to contributors to the Bulletin:

"The soul of wit they have not sensed
Who do not early learn
The more the sunbeam is condensed
The deeper does it burn." (32)

And, as sole answer to a contributor, he once printed the following jingle:

BE BRIEF

"When you've got a thing to say
Say it! Don't take half a day.
When your yarn's got little in it,
Crowd the whole thing in a minute!
Life is short - a fleeting vapour -
Don't you fill an eight-page paper
With a tale which, at a pinch,
Could be cornered in an inch!
Boil her down until she simmers;
Polish her until she glimmers;
When you've got a thing to say,
Say it! Don't take half a day." (33)

Of Archibald as a writer A.G. Stephens remarks:

"Archibald wrote a great deal in THE BULLETIN's first decade; in the second decade little; in the third decade almost nothing. He had not the time. And he did his best when handling other men's writings. To think of all the statuettes he has shaped out of the crude marble! All the gold he has purged from the dross! As a writer, at the beginning he was simply the 'Evening News' reporter with a keen eye for points, a keen wit for epigrams. He saw his faults, applied his own maxim . . . and cut out the 'Evening News'. Not the journalism but the journalese; not the rhythm but the

> long measure. That habit left his short articles as long paragraphs, wonderfully forcible. Archibald wrote from a head full of his subject, said what he had to say, and stopped saying. His own word 'chinky' describes the work. It stood for feeling rather than thought - feeling expressed rather vehemently, sometimes savagely, in heady pictorial sentences that left a permanent impression - 'The pink-eyed rabbits of politics', 'The usurer, in his sumptuous dining-room with his gorgeous lamps fed from the kidney fat of the Christian, and his curtains dyed rich with Gentile blood'. And when Archibald found a telling phrase, he stuck to it, printed it over and over again." (34)

To Tom Mills, who many years later referred to him as "the greatest Sub. of them all", Archibald wrote in 1897:

> "It takes longer (in this office) to cut anything down than to build it up. We want to get to the heart of things - our game is to trade in the forceful, picturesque, direct and unconventional, severely letting alone anything of ordinary newspaper character. When writing, please try to keep this in mind." (35)

Yet Archibald was not fanatically rigid in his advocacy of brevity as a principle. He recognised in A.G. Stephens a writer of strong individuality, and he let him do his own writing. Stephens claimed that he was the only one in the office who never submitted his copy for proof-reading.(36) Nor was

James Edmond to be confined within ~~the~~ narrow limits by the doctrine of brevity. -

> "He needed plenty of room to turn round in, for his most engaging trick was that of improving on a theme - saying the same thing several times over, and always in a different way. " (37)

This elasticity did not extend merely to the 'big' writers. Archibald knew when elaboration was necessary. To Florence Blair, writer of the "Woman's Letter", he once remarked:

> "This is too allusive. You don't make clear to what incident your par refers."

When, attacking him on his own ground, she countered with:

> "What about artistic condensation? Why repeat what is already known to all Sydney?"

Archibald replied:

> "All Sydney may know it, but Thursday Island won't understand what it is about. All Australia is not contained in the big cities. When you write, think of the woman on Thursday Island who will eventually read it A par must be thistledown to be light enough to blow across a continent, but it must contain a tiny seed of fact to be worth the sending." (38)

Thus Archibald taught while he encouraged. How did writers accept his rather severe editing of their work? On the whole well. They had confidence in him. It was the young writer who

most interested Archibald; he had no time for those who had grown old in the style and sentiments which he lumped together under the heading of "cant". To beginners he gave a catholic welcome. "Let 'em all come" was his motto. When they came, he corrected and instructed; and generally they were satisfied. From New Zealand the young Will Lawson wrote to Archibald:

> "I have to thank you for considering the many contributions I have sent and for altering such as have been printed so that they were better fitted to see the light." (39)

Edmund Fisher, who wrote for the Bulletin for about forty years, was independent in his ideas and not at all likely to welcome editorial changes in his work. On one occasion he voiced his strong disapproval of suspected interference on the part of A. G. Stephens. Yet he was perfectly willing to accept Archibald's editing. Referring to him as "the most brilliant sub-editor" he had known, Fisher wrote:

> "You never felt sorry for your paragraphs after they had passed through his hands. He never touched copy without adorning it. He would give a paragraph an original humorous twist by merely inserting a word or two. He had the gift of epigram and was a brilliant phrase maker. ... So far as 'copy' was concerned he was without prejudices and he made it his business not only to encourage but to flatter young writers so as to induce them to give of their best." (40)

Thorold Waters - the "Thorold Dalrymple" of the early Bulletin - also gives his need of praise to a great sub -

editor:

> "'Multum in paragrafo' is the way I once described Archibald's gospel, and to his guidance I attribute a certain discipline over care - not slickness, in binding a lot of meaning into a little sheaf of words. Certain items from contributors he used to send along to me for corroboration and re-writing, these more particularly referring to musical and theatrical subjects and men or moves in journalism. His own was such a right way of getting a new twist or epigrammatic glint into a paragraph that I on no occasion could feel resentment at his interference." (41)

The testimony of these writers emphasizes the regard in which Archibald was held in the 'nineties. By his assistance, encouragement and critical help he had managed to gather around him a band of writers which was enthusiastic and representative of a broad section of the Australian public. The literary output which resulted in the 'nineties was enormous. If crude at times, it was nevertheless spontaneous and vigorous, and largely reflected the 'character' of the developing nation. Lionel Lindsay has summed up the position:

> "Without his (Archibald's) encouragement they could never have produced so much, and without his critical sense they could never have written so well." (42)

CHAPTER 4

The Balladists.*

"There's never a stone at the sleeper's head,
There's never a fence beside,
And the wandering stock on the grave may tread
Unnoticed and undenied;
But the smallest child on the Watershed
Can tell you how Gilbert died."

A. B. Paterson (B.2/6/94) (1

Adam Lindsay Gordon popularized the ballad in Australia. His ballads, published in newspapers, were widely read, enthusiastically welcomed, and by many committed to memory. From Gordon's time the recited ballad began to supersede the sung ballad. There is plenty of evidence to show that he was popular. Barcroft Boake wrote, in 1889:

> "I have long been familiar with most of his known poems. There is no man within the last century who has achieved such fame as he has.....There is not a bushman or a drover who does not know a verse or two of 'How We Beat the Favourite' or 'The Sick Stockrider'". (2)

In 1906 Bertram Stevens, writing of Gordon and his poems, stated

> "There are few Australians who do not know some of his poems, even if they know no other, and his influence upon

* See appendices 1 & 2

subsequent writers has been very great." (3)

So well-known, indeed, were some of Gordon's poems, that their repeated recitation grew to be irritating. The grievance was voiced in the Bulletin in a jingle - The How-We-Beat-The-Favourite Affliction". -

"All ages from infancy up to virility
Record how the ringmen were yelling 'Dead Heat!'
The tremulous voicing of gummy senility
Out-gibbers, 'And that's how the fav'rite was beat',
....
It's the same at all socials and picnics and parties
When Romans foregather or Orangemen sup:
You're told by the Atkinses, Dugalds and Flaherty's,
'Be calm and we think you may just win the cup'.
... ...
We've heard it recited aboard of the Gusco:
The boys of 'The Never' can't let it go by;
From the shivering summit of Mount Kosciusko
Its lines have been yelled to the suffering sky. (4)

Archibald and his early colleagues were anxious to publish whatever might make their paper popular; and they made use of Gordon. Once in 1880, and frequently during 1881, they reprinted his poems, or parts of them, often under the heading: "Gems from Gordon". They willingly accepted ballads written in imitation of his style, even when they were the most blatant imitations. In November 1882, for example, there appeared an anonymous

ballad entitled:

"How We Didn't Beat the Favourite."

- A Lay of the Victorian Derby -

(A long way after Gordon.) (5)

Another, entitled Over the Sticks, ran thus (in part):

"'There are two in the race', said the trainer, 'today -
That bay horse of Johnson's and Dick Allan's grey;
Keep on the bay's quarter, he's reckoned a snorter;
And mind that grey Norma don't get far away.'

... ...

But ten yards from the hurdle we strode stride for stride;
(I would give half my life could I now have that ride);
The stand darkly looming, the hoarse voices booming,
Like the roar on the rocks of the incoming tide." (6)

Verses based on the theme of The Sick Stockrider were also acceptable, no matter how sentimental the treatment might be. One set, entitled How The Roughrider Died, illustrates the style.-

" 'Open wide the shutters, Harry, let me feel the evening breeze,
How it murmurs, soft, scent-laden, through the flower-clad forest trees;

... ...

I have done no sin I know of. What is sin? I drink and swear,
But I never wronged a woman, or to man was else than fair;

.. ..

I can't manage this repenting, all I know I've got to die;
God will 'see me fair', old fellow. What's up Harry? -

going to cry?

... ...

In my swag you'll find a letter my old mother wrote me here,

When I'm buried, send and tell her that I've gone a little queer:

... ...

Make a lot of little crosses underneath my name at last -

Kisses for the dear old mother - Harry, I am dying fast.

... ...

Harry, don't - forget - poor mother - you must write - her - wh-what I said -------- '

Climbs the shadow o'er the shutter, and the rider lies there dead." (7)

Thus the Bulletin showed early that it favoured popular poetry which followed Gordon's model, and that it was prepared to publish narrative verse even when the literary standard was not high. This policy attracted contributions from amongst the admirers of Gordon, and before long ballads were a feature of the paper. They were sometimes carefree and unconventional often serious and moralistic; but nearly all bore the Bulletin brand of democracy and hatred of what Archibald called "cant". Always it was the lower orders which were championed. For example, in a long ballad entitled Told at the Ford (8) the theme is sympathy for the station-hand. A stockman saved the station-owner's daughter from a runaway horse diaaster: -

"I had snatched her from the saddle, held my reins my teeth between,

Sharply slewed the mare, her frantic rush to quiet;

When she stopped I laid my burden 'neath the blackwoods' shading green;

All the blood within my veins was running riot."

The squatter appeared at this critical point:

"'Twas enough, he saw the finish, he was on an English hack

Praised my courage, thanked me grandly, as we bore her gently back -

In a month she sailed for England, and I got - you know, the sack.

....

And since then I've sought to find me never, maid to make my mate,

Since to woman never loving word I've spoken.

Another ballad (9) relates how one, Ben Butler, made a super-human effort to save a maiden from a burning building, only to find that it was his own "Little Nell", who had deserted him to marry a wealthy suitor. Whereat, in despair,

"He took to grog, and drunk his life away."

The author's comment in the concluding lines emphasises the strong contemporary feeling of sympathy for the common man in his misfortunes:

"A lady now? Of course she is, but, boys, the day will come

When she before the Great White Throne bestript of wealth will kneel

To have her case heard by that court from whence there's no appeal;

And then, if Heaven be for good while bad folks go to H el

I'd rather take Ben's chance of wings than those of little

Amongst the early contributors of verse to the Bulletin was John Farrell. He appears to have been attracted by its social policy, for in his first poem - The Auto-de-Fe (10) - he attacked, in Byronic, satirical verse, a system which neglected the poor and licked the feet of the rich. The poem, which he called "A free translation - from the Ancient Persian", was a topical treatment of a scandalous case of prison mismanagement and cruelty. -

"'Twas clearly shown, by evidence unwilling,
This wretched creature suffered sore neglect -
Of course, a man who blews his every shilling
Could hardly have the conscience to expect
Things otherwise; a gradual lawful killing
In all such cases was esteemed correct;
And in that climate, an enquiring jury
Was hard to find as --- bobbies in a brewery.

... ...

For, long ago, so different were the papers
From our pure organs, that a man with cash
Might cut before the Lord the d---dest capers,
Yet cut before the world a mighty dash;
These antique journals were most abject scrapers
Neath Dives' table after scraps of hash -
Had Balaam's self passed there with lots of brass,
They'd kneel to Balaam - aye, and kiss his ass."

Farrell was a valuable acquisition to the Bulletin, and

before long he was a regular contributor of such satirical verse. Towards the end of 1882 he tried his hand at narrative still in the Don Juan stanza. His poem, entitled Jenny - An Australian Story, (11) was topical, slangy, unconventional and broadly humorous; it was a long rambling tale which spread over five months with its 232 stanzas, and was then left unfinished. The style and subject matter are interesting because they show how radical the Bulletin was in its acceptance of popular verse. Here, for example, is the description of the end of a brawl in an out-back shanty:

"That ended that. Then Sam the Grubber swore to
The Lightning Streak 'it served him damwell right';
And in two minutes they were on the floor, too,
Stripped to the waist and ready for the fight;
And the First Concertina who smelt gore too,
Struck Mudgee Dan, who was by that time tight,
And was at once laid out by Mudgee's brother -
Then all the boys went straight for one another.

....

Then Susan hit a plan to quell the riot;
She first went round to where the barman slept -
Called him - and told the slavey to be quiet,
Who now hysterically yelled and wept;
Then calculating the right time to try it,
Around the bar among the scrimmage crept -
Turned down the lamp - and when the light was gone out,
The barman rose and chucked them one by one out." (12)

From humorous satire Farrell turned to ballads. His first acknowledged poem in the Bulletin was the ballad by which he is best remembered - How He Died. It appeared on July 21 1883, and was the best original ballad published in the Bulletin to that date. The opening is strong and dramatic:

"'Take my horse', said the squatter to Nabbage - ' 'tis
forty long miles at the least;
Ride as if all Hell's devils rode after, and don't spare
yourself or the beast;
And mark me, my cove, if I hear that you stop for as
much as a nip,
I'll hide you while God gives me strength, and then pass
Curly Johnson the whip.'"

The theme is praise of the underdog: Nabbage, the drunken station drudge, heroically sacrifices his life in an attempt to save that of the squatter's son who had been injured in a stampede. He is enthusiastically canonized by Farrell at the end of the poem:

"It may be the rouseabout swiper who rode for the doctor
that night
Is in Heaven with the bishops and priests, robed and
sceptred and shining with light;
It may be that Freddie and Nabbage roam over plains
pleasant and wide,
Where wings take the place of bush horses and boundaries
are spacious to ride." (13

How He Died, if rough and irregular and melodramatic, was nevertheless a vital ballad; and it won immediate popularity. Bertram Stevens records:

"It was recited with great success by the well-known actor, Mr. G.S. Titheradge, and appeared in many English and American papers, by some of which it was attributed to Henry Kendall." (14)

In the same vigorous style Farrell wrote Dalton's Rise (B. 27/12/84) and The Last Bullet (B. 12/6/86) (15) They represent the stark tragedy of the days of the early settlers, when bushrangers and blacks provided no small menace. The Marriage of Mucker (B. 28/7/83) was much lighter in tone - closer to the Farrell who wrote Jenny; and there were a few others. When, in 1887, Farrell published a collection of poems under the title How He Died and Other Verses, (16) fifteen of the sixteen poems were reprinted from the Bulletin. He was the first popular balladist since Adam Lindsay Gordon; and his work found its place naturally in the Bulletin.

In Farrell's case the stimulus to verse-writing was provided by the social policy of the Bulletin. It is noteworthy that the chief balladists who followed him made their first contact with the reading public because their sympathies lay with the political or social views advocated by the Bulletin. First amongst these was Andrew Barton Paterson, whose earliest contribution - The Bush Fire - appeared on June 12th 1886. In form the poem was a political allegory. Paterson took up arms on the side of the Bulletin on the question of Home Rule for Ireland. "Bill Gladstone" was boss of the "Empire Run"; he found that fires were far too frequent at "Paddymelon flat", and

finally went to fight one himself. In typical Australian style he tore down a "blue-gum bough" - his Home Rule Bill. However, though he worked valiantly, he made little impression. At last

"A cinder flew across the creek
While Bill stopped for a sup
And fired the Albion paddocks, too -
It was a bitter cup;
Old Bill's great heart was broke at last,
He had to give it up."

In The Deficit Demon (B . 5/3/87), Paterson joined the Bulletin in ridiculing Sir Henry Parkes. -

"Then were the people amazed and they called for the champion of champions
Known as Sir 'Enry the Fishfag unequalled in vilification.
He is the man, said the people, to wipe out the deficit monster,
If nothing else fetches him through he can at the least talk its head off."

Our Mat (B. 2/4/87) was a moral reflection on the victimization of the poor under the existing social system. And in On Riley's Run (B. 20/12/90), Paterson lamented the evils of absentee ownership of the big stations. -

"The owner lives in England now
Of Kiley's Run.
He knows a racehorse from a cow,
But that is all he knows of stock;
His chiefest care is how to dock
Expenses, and he sends from town

To cut the shearer's wages down

On Kiley's run."

The second influence on Paterson was Adam Lindsay Gordon. "The Banjo" joined the imitators of the popular balladist with his second contribution to the Bulletin (30/10/86). It was entitled:

"A Dream of the Melbourne Cup"

(A Long Way after Gordon)

and it followed the technique which had been popularized by Bell's Life in Victoria. A stanza will show the style:

"Trident slowly forges ahead,
The fierce whips cut and the spurs are red,
The pace is undiminished;
Now for the Panics that never fail!
But many a backer's face grows pale
As old Commotion swings his tail
And swerves - and the Cup is finished."

The theme continued, but the imitation soon gave way to genuine balladry. There was something refreshing about The Mylora Elopement, which appeared in the Christmas issue of the Bulletin in 1886. -

"By the winding Wollondilly where the weeping willows weep,
And the shepherd with his billy half awake and half asleep
Folds the fleecy flocks that linger homeward in the setting sun,
Lived my hero, Jim the Ringer, 'cocky' on Mylora Run."

Two years later Paterson's next ballad appeared (B.22/12/88); It was Pardon, The Son of Reprieve, and it introduced Gordon's successor. Paterson showed that he could throw the bushman's tall yarn into easy, vigorous verse spiced with a hearty humour and touched at times with genuine poetic feeling. -

"And how he did come! It was splendid;
He gained on them yards every bound,
Stretching out like a greyhound extended,
His girth laid right down to the ground.
A shimmer of silk in the cedars
As into the running they wheeled,
And out flashed the whip of the leaders,
For Pardon had collared the field.
Then right through the ruck he came sailing,
I knew that the battle was won -
The son of Haphazard was failing,
The Yattendon filly was done;
He cut down The Don and The Dancer,
He raced clean away from the mare -
'He's in front! Catch him now if you can, sir!'
And up went my hat in the air."

Thus introduced through the pages of the Bulletin to a wide and appreciative Australian audience, Paterson continued his contributions regularly for a period of fifteen years. His popularity grew steadily, and his ballads took their place with Gordon's in the reciter's repertoire. At Christmas 1889 his idealization of the Australian drover was published - Clancy of the Overflow :-

"In my wild erratic fancy visions come to me of Clancy
Gone a-droving 'down the Cooper' where the western drovers go;
As the stock are slowly stringing, Clancy rides behind them singing,
For the drover's life has pleasures that the townsfolk never know.
And the bush has friends to meet him and their kindly faces greet him
In the murmur of its breezes and the river on its bars;
And he sees the vision splendid of the sunlit plains extended
And at night the wond'rous glory of the everlasting star

The Man From Snowy River appeared in the Bulletin shortly afterwards (26/4/90). Thereafter the stream of contributions was constant and varied. The bushman's dry humour and love of queer yarns found expression in such poems as Saltbush Bill (B.15/12/94) and The Two Devines (B. 15/12/94). A more boisterous element appeared in ballads which were lavishly illustrated by artists Livingstone Hopkins and Frank Mahoney. The Man From Ironbark was one of these (B. 17/12/92); A Bush Christening (B. 16/12/93) was another. In serious vein also Paterson wrote many fine ballads for the Bulletin; ballads such as The Story of Conroy's Gap (B.20.12.90), The Travelling Post Office (B.10/3/94), and How Gilbert Died (B. 2/6/94).

In 1895 Angus and Robertson published for Paterson The Man From Snowy River and Other Verses. It contained forty-seven poems, of which thirty had been originally written for publication

in the Bulletin. Most of the others were printed then for the first time. The book had a rapid sale and ran into many subsequent editions. Such popularity Paterson owed largely to the Bulletin. In its social and political policies he had first found the stimulus to write topical verse; through its encouragement of the Gordon type of ballad he had found an outlet for his natural gift as a balladist; and its ardent Australianism and radical democracy had provided a congenial atmosphere for his verse tales of drovers, shearers and bush folk. The Bulletin did not make Paterson as a poet, but it gave him inspiration and scope. The fact that nearly all his best work appeared first in its columns indicates clearly that the Bulletin of the late 'eighties and the 'nineties was more than merely an unconventional journal. In its radical Australianism lay the germ of a popular national literature.

Shortly after Paterson had commenced writing for the Bulletin Henry Lawson made his appearance in its columns. He entered upon the scene as a national revolutionary, an ardent disciple of Archibald. In his reminiscences he spoke of the Bulletin as -

> "a journal I had worshipped and devoured every inch of for years". (17)

That was in 1887, when the Bulletin was not a literary organ, but was noteworthy mainly for its vigorous anti-imperialist sentiment and its socialistic bias. Lawson thus describes the occasion which prompted his first contribution:

> "Then came the unexpected and inexplicable outburst of popular feeling or madness - called the Republican

riots - in '87, when the Sydney crowd carried a disloyal amendment on the Queen's Jubilee, and cheered at the Town Hall for an 'Australian Republic'. And I had to write then or burst. THE BULLETIN saved me from bursting." (18)

The Bulletin, in fact, printed the first few lines of Lawson's youthful effusion in the "Correspondence" column (18/6/87), with the encouraging remark:

"The first four lines are the best. Try again."

The lines were:

"Rejoice! Rejoice! rise high the ringing cheers!
Rejoice! because another fifty years
Our weary backs have borne with scarce a groan
The cumbrous, useless burden of a throne." (1)

So Lawson tried again, to receive further encouragement in the same column (23/7/87) :

"H.A.L. : Will publish your 'Sons of the South': You have in you good grit."

The verses were held over until Eight Hours Day (1/10/87), when they appeared under the title 'A Song of the Republic. Archibald must have felt an immediate interest in this youngster who echoed his own ideas with such enthusiasm, albeit with such naivete: -

"Sons of the South, awake! Arise!
Sons of the South, and do,

---

(1) NOTE: On this day also appeared Australia to England. See Chapter 2, p. 35.

Banish from under your bonny skies
Those old-world errors and wrongs and lies,
Making a hell in a Paradise
That belongs to your sons and you.

... ...

Sons of the South, aroused at last!
Sons of the South are few!
But your ranks grow longer and deeper fast,
And ye shall swell to an army vast,
And free from the wrongs of the North and Past
The land that belongs to you."

In the Christmas issue of 1887 Archibald encouraged the young writer by a flattering note, which referred to L&wson as "one whose poetic genius speaks eloquently for itself."

The revolutionary theme continued through The Song of the Outcasts (B. 12/5/88) and Faces in the Street (B. 28/7/88). In the latter poem Lawson asserted:

"But not until the city feels Red Revolution's feet
Shall its sad people miss awhile the terrors of the street."

Eureka (B. 2/3/89) was inspired by the death of Lalor and was a song in praise of rebellion. But Lawson gradually outgrew such fervour. In 1892 he could write a parody for the Bulletin on "18 well-meaning but ungrammatical bards" who had sent in inflammatory verses. -

"Rise ye! rise ye! noble toilers! claim your rights
with fire and steel!

Rise ye! for the cursed tyrants crush ye with the
Hiron 'eel!

They would treat you worse than sl-a-a-ves! they would
treat you worse than BRUTES!

Rise and crush the selfish tyrants! ker-r-rush them
with your hobnailed boots!

Rise ye! rise ye! glorious toilers!

Rise ye! rise ye! noble toilers!

Erwake! er-rise!"

When Lawson turned to ballad-writing, it was the social influence of the Bulletin which predominated. His were not ballads of the Gordon type, though they dealt with bushmen for the most part; rather were they moralistic in tone. In a poem entitled The Ghost (B. 10/9/89) Lawson stated his creed:

"'Brotherhood and Love and Honour!' is the motto
for the world."

Later, in The Glass on the Bar (B. 24/5/90), the theme of "mateship" was introduced:

"They thought of the far-away grave on the plain,
They thought of the comrade who came not again,
They lifted their glasses, and sadly they said:
'We drink to the name of a mate who is dead'.
And the sunlight streamed in, and a light like a star
Seemed to glow in the depth of the glass on the bar."

The theme runs through Lawson's ballads. The Fire at Ross's Farm (B. 6/12/90) was the well-told story of a squatter-selector feud which was brought to a head by a bushfire and ended in a pact of friendship. In [illegible] (B. 19/12/91) the hero lit-

erally rode to his death to ensure a worthy funeral muster for his dead friend. "Crowbar" refused to give up an obviously futile search for his lost mate, and perished in his quest - (Marshall's Mate - B. 20/7/95). "Tambaroora Jim", the kind-hearted publican who went bankrupt because he could never refuse help to one in need, was a saint in Lawson's creed. -

"Poor Tambaroora's dead, perhaps - but that's all
right for him,
St. Peter cottons on to chaps like Tambaroora Jim."
(B. 19/3/92)

And when the subject was not mateship it was sympathy for the friendless, as in Outback (B. 30/9/93). -

"He tramped away from the shanty there, when the
days were long and hot,
With never a soul to know or care if he died on
the track or not.
The poor in the city have friends in woe, no matter
how much they lack,
But only God and the swagman knows how a poor man
fares Out Back."

Such were Lawson's early ballads. They reflected the strong current of democratic feeling which was running in Australia in the late 'eighties and which Archibald directed to some extent through the Bulletin. There was nothing coincidental in Lawson's relationship with the Bulletin and its editor. The paper inspired him in the first place. It encouraged him generously; and its social policy provided him with his stock theme. When he published his first book [illegible] - In The Days When The World

Was Wide (1896) - he dedicated it to "J.F. Archibald". It was received by the public with enthusiasm. A.G. Stephens wrote in his review:

> "Henry Lawson joins 'The Banjo' in Angus and Robertson's admirable Australian series. In these two writers, with all their imperfections, we see something like the beginnings of a national school of poetry. In them, for the first time, Australia has found audible voice, and characteristic expression." (19)

It is significant that Stephens here repeats almost verbatim what Marcus Clarke had said of Adam Lindsay Gordon. Clarke had looked forward to the growth of a literature which would "mirror the character of the nation", which would be remarkable for "vigour" rather than for "polish" (see Chapter 1, p. 8); and he had hailed Gordon's poems as marking "something very like the beginnings of a national school of poetry" (20) Almost thirty years later his prediction was being fulfilled, and Stephens recognised the fact while refusing to give Gordon the credit due to the pioneer. Both Lawson and Paterson showed vigour rather than literary polish in their verse; and both, in Stephen's phrase, "reflected Australia's image" (21) by writing on popular and topical rather than purely aesthetic subjects. Both, as we have seen, were largely influenced by the unconventional, democratic Bulletin. It would seem that their work in the Bulletin was chiefly responsible for breaking through the shell of artificiality which had previously surrounded Australian poetry.

Lawson and Paterson were followed by many vigorous balladists. The first of importance was Barcroft Boake, who, as we have seen, was effectively encouraged by Archibald. Boake's first contribution was a very short story entitled The New Love and the Old Friend (B. 21/3/91) - a lament for the triumph of greed over friendship, which might well have been inspired by Lawson. Indeed, the two had much in common. The tragedy that Lawson saw in The Faces in the Street Boake saw in the lives of the ill-paid men who worked on the outer stations in Queensland. His letters indicate that he felt strongly for the victims of the system - "burnt unrecognisably in bush fires, struck down by sun-stroke, ripped up by cattle, dashed against some tree by their horse, killed in a dozen different ways." (22) The Bulletin invited the expression of such feelings, and in the Christmas issue for 1891 Boake's poem entitled Where the Dead Men Lie attacked the class which grew prosperous at the expense of the ill-paid station hands. -

"Out on the wastes of the 'Never Never',
That's where the dead men lie,
There where the heat-waves dance for ever,
That's where the dead men lie;
That's where the earth's loved sons are keeping
Endless tryst - not the west wind sweeping
Feverish pinions, can wake their sleeping -
Out where the dead men lie!

... ...

'Money grub', as he sips his claret
Looks with complacent eye
Down on his watch-chain, eighteen caret
There, in his club, hard by;
Recks not that every link is stamped with
Names of the men whose limbs are cramped with
Too much lying in grave mould, camped with
Death where the dead men lie."

Boake was at one with the Bulletin on another count besides social outlook. He was an ardent disciple and unashamed imitator of Gordon. Moreover, there can be no doubt that he had read the early "Banjo" ballads and was influenced by them. Both Gordon and Paterson are echoed frequently in his ballads, which are, nevertheless, not merely imitative. There is plenty of hard riding: "Jack Corrigan" rode wildly to escape the trooper, "Kitty McCrae" from bushrangers; and, for variety, "Polly" stopped the breakneck race of a runaway coach team.

Boake's verse is inferior to that of his models; but it is vigorous and sincere, and his ballads hold their place in Australian literature. The most significant point about his work is that the output was large for the short period during which he wrote. Thirty-one poems of his were published in the Bulletin - nine in 1891, sixteen in 1892 before his suicide in May, and six posthumously in the same year. This constitutes practically all his poetry. As the Bulletin fostered Lawson, so it was responsible for bringing Boake out

of himself. Later it was A. G. Stephens, of the Bulletin, who collected Boake's poems and letters and edited them for Angus and Robertson. Thus permanence was given to the work of a genuine Australian balladist.

Edward Dyson was the balladist of the miners. He had known the Ballarat mines in their flourishing days, and he knew them in decline. He tells us:

"The deserted mines took hold of me. I haunted them like a spirit." (23)

He wrote in unaffected style of the simple lives of the mining folk. There was "The Trucker" (B. 5/4/90) -

"He can swarm around the pinches with a scramble and a dash
And negotiate the inclines just as pat;
And the sheets of iron rattle and the waters surge and splash
As he shoots the 'full 'uns' in along the plat."

And "The Fossicker"(B. 16/4/92) -

"I've known him stand for hours and rock and rock,
Swinging now the shovel, now the ladle,
So sphinx-like that at time he seemed to mock,
Resolved to run creation through his cradle."

Readers of the Bulletin were given vivid pictures of "The Worked-Out Mine" (B. 21/12/89), "Night-Shift (B. 16/7/92), "The Old Whim Horse" (B. 30/7/92), "The Old Camp Oven" (B. 17/8/95), "The Shanty" (B. 4/1/96), and "The Tin-Pot Mill" (B. 16/5/96). Taken together, Dyson's verses give a good picture of an important phase in our history. His rhymes of the goldfields give him a place among the balladists; it is not a high place.

but it is secure because the goldfields are part of Australia's story.

When, in 1896, Dyson collected his poems for publication as Rhymes of the Mines and Other Lines, the collection consisted largely of verses he had written for the Bulletin. Twenty-three of the thirty-nine 'rhymes' had appeared in the Bulletin; two had been published in the Melbourne Argus, and most of the others were then printed for the first time. The book was, in effect, a Bulletin publication. For Dyson, as for the bush balladists, the Bulletin was the natural medium for expression.

What Dyson did for the miners, E.J. Brady did for the dockside labourers. His first poem was a cry of revolt against the established industrial system - The Wage Lord (B.23/5/91) -

"For you, my lord, the millions toil, for you the spinners spin;
For you the workers delve and sweat, for you their daughters sin.
For you, my lord, the mother leaves her own to waste and pine,
That yours may live to feast and fat and drink the mellow wine.
Oh, potent lord! Oh, mighty lord! Oh, lord of earth and sky!
When shall your power and presence fade, when shall your kingdom die?

... ...

When the earth is rent and shaken,
When the souls of men awaken,
When the souls of men are strong;
When the hearts of men are true;

When the death of olden wrong
Ushers in the golden new."

This was the feeling which prevailed in many of Brady's early rhymes. He attacked particularly the conditions under which wharf-labourers worked. -

"'Bob' an hour and sweat, half-roasted,
till his socks are wet with slime;
'Bob' an hour and, if he's lucky, one-and-six for overtime."
(B. 17/2/92)

Thus Brady, like Paterson and Lawson, was first induced to write by the Bulletin's policy on social matters and its willingness to publish provocative verse. He later wrote sea-ballads and -chanties, some of which have found place in English anthologies and have earned high praise from the critics. John Masefield has written:

"The only poet who has seen the sailor in the dingy intimacy of the fo'c's'le, and sung him in verse which is more clarion than doggerel, is Mr. E. J. Brady ..... He writes movingly and convincingly ..... he knows the vagabond and the steward and the stevedore, and that pitiful hero the sailorman ..... 'The Passing of Parker', a long ballad on the death of a blue-jacket in a China squadron battleship, is perhaps the best narrative ballad we have." (24)

Brady's best sea-ballads were printed in the Bulletin in the 'nineties. In 1899 he and A.G. Stephens made a selection of

these, and The Bulletin Newspaper Co. published them as The Ways of Many Waters. Twenty-three of the thirty-four poems contained in the book were from the Bulletin.

One major balladist remains to be considered, Will H. Ogilvie. He stands apart from the rest for two main reasons. He was not an Australian, but a visitor, and had not, therefore, that strong social sense which inspired those of his contemporary balladists who had grown up in the new environment. Moreover, he came into prominence a little later than the others (his first poem appeared in 1894), at a period when A.G. Stephens was beginning to be a stronger literary influence than Archibald. Stephens, as we shall see, was interested in the strictly literary side of the paper, and was equipped to guide aspiring writers. Ogilvie was his protegé and had little to do with Archibald. It is not surprising, therefore, to find in Ogilvie very little social feeling. His ballads are more romantic than those of the other balladists, more purely literary. It is important to notice, however, that Ogilvie worked almost entirely through the Bulletin while he was in Australia. Of the ballads which were published in his first book - Fair Girls and Gray Horses - eighteen out of the twenty-five were from the Bulletin; and in Hearts of Gold and other Verses, fourteen of the eighteen ballads came from the Bulletin. By 1894 the Bulletin had so established itself that it naturally attracted aspiring young writers.

There were, of course, many others contributing ballads during this period. Most of them never collected their poems into a book, and are therefore not well known; but their verses helped

to give variety to the Bulletin of the 'nineties. Victor J. Daley wrote several good ballads; so did G.H. Gibson ("Ironbark"). Harry Morant ("The Breaker") was a constant contributor of horse ballads until he went on his ill-fated Boer expedition.(25) Most of his work is rough, but some of his verses, (e.g. When Stock Go By - B.10/12/03) might profitably be preserved from the fate of most magazine verse. W.T. Goodge wrote many humorous ballads which he later collected with his topical verse in Hits, Skits and Jingles (1898); Thomas E. Spencer amused many with his How McDougall Topped the Score; George Essex Evans wrote many ballads; Shaw Neilson, inspired by reading some of Paterson's ballads in the Bulletin , tried his own hand with Polly and Dad and The Spring Cart in 1896; Peter Airey ("P. Luftig"), Randolph Bedford, E.S. Sorenson, J. Drayman, Edmund Fisher, Roderic Quinn, Cecil Poole and many others sent in ballads from time to time.

In 1901 A.G. Stephens published The Bulletin Reciter, in which appeared ballads and topical verse from many contributors. Its continued popularity is evidenced by the many editions that have since appeared. The book illustrates the scope of the ballad in the 'nineties. What it cannot give is the atmosphere in which the original ballads appeared, an atmosphere produced largely by the lavish illustrations which frequently accompanied the verses. Nor can such a collection recapture the interest with which the weekly issue was awaited, the enthusiasm with which a new ballad was received. For the Australian ballad of the 'nineties was a living thing, and the journal which fostered

it a national organ.

Two points emerge from this consideration of the Australian balladists. First, they worked almost entirely through the Bulletin. In the 'nineties it was the obvious avenue of expression for the Australian balladists. Hence it is not too much to claim that the Bulletin was the home of the Australian ballad after 1880. Secondly, the Bulletin undoubtedly determined the tone of the ballads, for they were typical of the journal which published them. There was nothing pretentious in their style, nothing obviously literary in their presentation; they were designedly popular in appeal, wholly unaffected, and frequently inspired by that same spirit which moved Archibald to make his paper entirely unconventional and radically democrati Taken together, these ballads give a fair cross-sectional picture of the ordinary folk of Australia at the period. In nearly all cases the poets were first stirred by the social or political doctrines of the Bulletin; and if, in some cases, they later wrote in a more detached manner, generally the democratic spirit prevailed in their ballads. Drovers, shearers, miners, wharf-labourers - these were the standard characters, and were treated realistically. The ballads were vital literature because they were concerned essentially with the life of the nation, and were not merely literary exercises; they were Australian because by this time life in Australia had assumed its own characteristics, and these they portrayed. Crude, in an artistic sense, they may have been - "let the defect be pardoned"; their vigour and sincerety mirrored the temper of the people. It was thus that

the Bulletin, by fostering the ballad, produced a body of writers that could claim to speak with a distinctly Australian voice.

CHAPTER 5

A. G. Stephens and The Red Page.

"O what sweet cozenage
To reap the merits you allow my page!
But greater prize I hold, and ever will,
The way you show by which Parnassus Hill
Were best essayed, and through what faults made good
I yet may win the Muses' Sisterhood."

(Hugh McCrae) (1)

Alfred George Stephens was born in Toowoomba (Qld.) on August 28, 1865. His education was on the classical lines of the Grammar School and he passed the Senior examination at the age of fourteen. His life thereafter was largely connected with the printing business. Having served his time as a printer's apprentice, he spent some years in Sydney, working at his trade by day and studying foreign languages at the Sydney Technical School in the evenings. Following this he spent a period as editor of the Gympie Miner (Qld.). Here, both as editor and as a member of local societies, he showed great interest in literary matters, about which he wrote and talked with vigour and confidence. His editorial style attracted the notice of Gresley Lukin, proprietor of the Boomerang, a Brisbane journal modelled on the Bulletin and making a great effort to establish itself on a national basis. Stephens became literary editor of the Boomerang, and kept his readers

informed on English and American literary tendencies while he cultivated his own interest in books and authors. From Brisbane he went to Cairns as editor of, and share-holder in, the local Argus. He showed considerable interest in political affairs, writing a pamphlet on the question of North Queensland separation and another (The Griffilwraith) on the matter of franchise. They were topical and full of fire, and showed an independent mind, an active brain and a masterly control of language. In 1893, at the age of twenty-seven, Stephens sold his share in the Argus and went abroad for a year, travelling through Europe and America. It was while he was on this trip that he received an invitation from Archibald to join the staff of the Bulletin. He accepted the offer and, on his return at the end of 1893, commenced an association with the Bulletin which was to last for thirteen years and to prove fruitful for Stephens, for the paper and for Australia. (2)

From the first Archibald gave his new writer a fairly free hand; and that meant that Stephens interested himself particularly in the literary side of the paper. By the end of 1894 he had adopted the policy of using the inside of the front cover for book reviews written by himself or others, or for lists of newly-published books. Some of the books thus advertised were Louis Becke's By Reef and Palm (27/10/94), Francis Adams' An Australian and Ethel Turner's Seven Little Australians (24/11/94). By the middle of the next year this page was carrying the heading : THE BULLETIN

BOOK EXCHANGE, and was being used by Stephens not only for lists and reviews, but for literary articles. George Eliot was his subject on February 23rd, 1895; the Bronte family on June 15th. Before long, correspondence on literary matter became a feature of the page; and the heading Literary Notes was used occasionally. Discussions ran through several issues. Thus J. H. Greene attacked the short story, particularly the Australian variety as published in the Bulletin and compared Australian with American short stories (29/12/96 Two weeks later Stephens took up the cudgels for his paper and the Australian story; and others came into the discussion in subsequent issues. During 1896 the reviews became more extensive and the book-lists gave way to the Literary Notes. On August 8th the heading For The Red Page was used; two columns were devoted to a philosophical sketch - "The Procession of the Egos" - by J. F. Millington, and the other two to "Reprints" of favourite verses. It was on August 29th 1896, that the title The Red Page was first used. Appropriately the page was devoted in part to a review and assessment of Henry Lawson's first book of stories - While The Billy Boils. Thereafter The Red Page was the accepted term, although it was occasionally varied with Notes and Queries and Under The Gum Tree. In the ten years that followed this page became a forum for the discussion of all literary matters, and the medium through which A. G. Stephens directed the development of Australian literature. Following the established tradition of the Bulletin, Stephens

rarely signed his Red Page articles. It was not until 1903 that the initials "A.G.S." began to appear regularly at the bottom of the page. Joseph Furphy's phrase, "the three-initialled terror of The Bulletin", must have been a reference to his personal correspondence with the Red Page editor.

Stephens was at home in the political atmosphere of the Bulletin office. As early as 1889 he had been vigorous in his attack on Imperial Federation. In a lecture delivered in Gympie in that year he had said:

> "Here, away from the old-world feuds and enmities, we breathe an ampler ether, a diviner air, than the denizens of the Old Country, steeped in hereditary prejudices ..... When the time comes, no ties will prevent these colonies from taking their place before the world as a free, a united and an independent Australia." (3)

Nobody could better express the popular feeling on Federation eve than this almost fanatical Australian patriot. --

> "Give us a scutcheon as wide as our continent!
> Give us a flag that will shelter us all,
> Fold us and shroud us, if ever on blood-besprent
> Battlefield fighting, we falter and fall.
> For ill communion give brotherly union;
> For catchwords a watchword, for marsh-fires a grail;
> Whatever is to be, let us front Destiny
> Shoulder to shoulder! Australia, hail! (4)

This breathed his spirit. When he edited books (and he

edited many), he liked to use for dedication the phrase "For Australia". He was confident in the future greatness of Australian literature. In 1901 he wrote:

> "It will be the fault of the writers, not of the land, if Australian literature does not by-and-by become memorable..... Every man who roams the Australian wilderness is a potential knight of Romance; every man who grapples with the Australian desert for a livelihood might sing a Homeric chant of victory, or listen, baffled and beaten, to an Aeschylean dirge of defeat." (5)

This was the man who, in 1896, was setting out with a policy for encouraging the "potential knights of Romance." He felt the literary stirrings in Australia, and nothing could have been pleasanter to him than to assist in the development of our literature. He acknowledged this in the Bulletin (27/6/96). -

> "Australia really begins to be literary. Buzz.z.z.. the air is full of the clamor of little bees hurrying whither the new hive sits bright in morning sunshine. Here comes one who has gathered honey from orange blossoms and hibiscus in far-eastern islands; yonder booms another with whose store lingers the heavy fragrance hidden in tropical orchid and magnolia; that has pilfered sweets from the roses of a quaint old-fashioned Southern garden; this brings a breath of wattle from Wairee Hill, where great grey plains roll to the craving West. It is inexpressibly pleasant

to stand and listen to them all, and to welcome each dusty newcomer struggling homeward with his precious load ....."

That was exactly Stephens' position in 1896. He was intent on welcoming new writers, encouraging them, correcting faults, suggesting improvements. From the watch-tower of the Bulletin he surveyed the whole literary field of Australia and New Zealand - ever ready to come to the assistance of aspiring writers. His Red Page heartened many and stimulated them to advance to further achievement.

When Miles Franklin's first novel appeared in 1901, Stephens reviewed it in an article headed: "A Bookful of Sunlight". He wrote:

" .... her book is memorable for this: that it is the very first Australian novel to be published. There is not one of the others which might not have been written by a stranger or a sojourner. But 'My Brilliant Career' is Australian through and through; the author has the Australian mind; she speaks Australian language, utters Australian thoughts, and looks at things from an Australian point of view absolutely. The book is not a notable literary performance; it is fresh, natural, sincere - and consequently charming." (6)

Such praise was dear to the heart of an aspiring author. Miles Franklin wrote her thanks to the reviewer, indicating

in her letter how precious was the Red Page notice. --

"I saw 'A Bookful of Sunlight' in 'The Bulletin'. I wonder was it you who wrote it. It was somebody very good-natured and who knew. I felt as if I could hug .... 'The Bulletin'. Though it did not rear me I call myself a near relation of 'The Bulletin' and am so glad it did not decry me as one of its youngsters." (7)

Stephens reviewed Jessie Mackay's poems on The Red Page, 23/5/03. --

"Already she has the purest, finest note that we have heard from Maoriland - and Domett and Adams are not excluded ... Jessie Mackay is a singer - natural, unalloyed, sincere; and though she has written as yet only a dozen pieces that at present hold her best, these dozen are sufficient to ensure her rank. (One verse may settle rank; it needs a volume or more to settle place.)"

Jessie Mackay wrote to express her appreciation of the compliment:

"I do not know how to thank you for your amazing appreciation of my verses in the 'Bulletin' ..., it takes one's breath away to be put above Domett and Arthur Adams (though of course on the lyrical side only). You have made several people very happy; my father is so proud; my sisters too.

> And for myself, I feel I have had my day, whatever comes; and when the greater star comes I shall remove my farthing candle with what grace is possible." (8)

In 1903 also Stephens reviewed the poems of Mary Gilmore, (9) and by so doing infused fresh life into the poetess. Two days after the review appeared she wrote to him:

> "You are kind enough - kind because it's thoughtful for another and because it is encouragement - to speak of 'Avenue for better work' .... You must see something in my verses that you have given them so much thought and me so much space - every time I think of that 'whole page' it seems as if something within me - the real entity - cried out, 'My God! how terrible!' And yet you can also believe me that I feel I could go down on my knees for joy." (10)

Shaw Neilson had contributed several verses to the Bulletin between 1895 and 1905. In the latter year he approached Stephens with a view to getting out a booklet of verses. The reply, he tells us, was at once a caution and an encouragement:

> "I wish very much that I had kept the letter he sent in reply ... It was very kindly, very encouraging, but he told me plainly that I had only written three pieces that were of any value. He did not say that the rest of the stuff was doggerel, but I could see

that for myself soon after. He advised me strongly to keep on and to grow up with the country. I am not quite sure it was in this letter he advised me to have full confidence in myself, and he hinted that I should do really good work if I persisted. Dad read the letter and was very impressed with it. (11)

For ten years as Red Page editor Stephens was in a position to encourage writers thus. He used his power wisely, and there is abundance of evidence to show that his influence on Australian writers was salutary. Robert Crawford wrote to him:

"I think I can do something yet in the literary line, but anything achieved by me in that direction will be due to your encouragement and advice." (12)

Professor Walter E. Roth, Australian anthropologist, wrote a grateful note to Stephens in 1897, thanking him for the suggestion that he should write an account of his experiences. --

"I have to thank you most sincerely for your kindly and encouraging criticism of my work ... I hope to get the opportunity of spending the next 10 or 15 years in working out the anthropology of the whole northern district of the colony, with a view to the elucidation of the question as to how, where and when the aboriginal arrived in Australia .... So far I have never attempted putting on record any personal

experiences of my dealing with the blacks, but now that you have put the idea into my head, I think I might jot a few down in my leisure time." (14)

To the writers of a generation A.G. Stephens was the high priest of Australian literature. Bernard O'Dowd spoke of him as "my old Gamaliel";(15) to Hugh McCrae he was "my literary father";(16) and "Brent of Bin Bin" wrote from Edinburgh in 1932:

"I note that you recognise what the pseudonym Brent of B.B. may partly cover. It is inevitable that the master should recognise the pupil." (17)

When Stephens left the Bulletin late in 1906 there was a general feeling that Australian literature had lost its most stimulating influence. Roderic Quinn wrote in 1908:

"Part of my literary enthusiasm went from me when Archibald left the Bulletin, the rest when you went from Sydney. I write now (when I do write) with an eye to no man - either for praise or condemnation. I do my best of course, but when one is starving for encouragement and has to get his own atmosphere out of himself one's best is necessarily less than one's possibility." (18)

It was fortunate that Stephens, who was to be Australia's literary guide at a critical period, held a most comprehensive view of the meaning of the term "literature". Violently Australian though he was, and almost fanatical in his desire to see a development towards a distinctly national literature, he neverthe-

less kept a true balance. His conception of literature he gave in a Red Page article in 1900. --

> "Literature is the human mind's effective manifestation in written language. That is put forward as the best definition available. For effective, if you like, read forceful or forcible. Everything, you see, is in the adjective. Artistic would be more satisfying in one sense, but what is artistic? where is your criterion of art or of beauty? No; beauty must be construed in terms of strength; as heat is a mode of motion. When you say effective, you do not eliminate the taste-cavil, but you refer it to a quantity standard which is more intelligible, more ponderable.
>
> How long, and how many, and for how long, does a book impress, and move, and thrill? What is its equivalent in thought-rays? in emotion-volts? What is its, force, its effect? Estimate that, find that, and you will know its universal value as literature.
>
> This standard of force is the ultimate standard. Tastes differ with individuals, countries and eras; but three and two are five, and twice five are ten, anywhere in the universe." (19)

To his judgment on literary matters Stephens brought a mind well-stored with knowledge of the great writers of the past. He knew the classics, English literature, French and German literature, and was familiar with contemporary literary trends in Europe and America. With ease he could turn from Mary Gilmore (20)

James Hebblethwaite (21) to Heine as a connecting link in the poetry occurred to him. In his treatment of Becke's stories he could pass naturally to comparisons with Stevenson; (22) a discussion of Alex Montgomery's prose style led to reflections on Dickens; (23) and a review of Albert Dorrington's tales closed with a lengthy consideration of Guy de Maupassant's art. (24) Stephens bewailed the isolation of Australia from world literature. In 1897 he wrote:

> "It is hard in Australia to get even a nodding acquaintance with recent foreign literature other than British, for the books never reach us. Is there a single Australian who could pass an examination in Huysman, Maeterlinck, or Vaerhaeren? - to say nothing of Verlaine or Baudelaire, or others comparatively far back. Yet Maeterlinck seems probably quite as notable as Tolstoi, and Vaerhaeren and Verlaine have far more poetical significance than the rabbits of the English warren, like Kipling or Watson, of whom every local body with a smattering of letters can appraise the merits. And what, generally speaking, do we know of Russian literature beyond the well-advertised names - or of German or of Scandinavian? Really, if someone would establish a cosmopolitan bookshop, and keep the Southern Cross abreast of the Northern Lights, it would be a boon." (25)

The Bulletin printed many of T. B. Aldrich's verses on The Red Page. Stephens had very definite ideas on American lit-

erature. -

> "With Whitman died the second of America's two great poets: the first was Poe. The remainder are mainly clever men like Lowell, who write forcible verses; or cultured men like Longfellow, who write tolerable verses with a popular and rather crude sentimental appeal; or pleasant rhymers like Aldrich, who weave phrases tenderly and gracefully, and now and then strike a strong chord of humour or pathos. Two or three, like Lanier or Miller display something of the true poetic energy without making a sufficiently abiding impression to be called great. And for the rest, there are dextrous versers like Scotland or Gilder, or homely singers like Wilcox or Riley, and thousands of others who contrive to turn out millions of lines holding much that is interesting and felicitous and nothing at all that is now memorable." (26)

Here was a critic of no insular outlook. He sighed for an Australian literature that would be an honour to this country; he confidently predicted that the future would see such a literature; he claimed that Australia held inspiration enough for genius. But he held by traditional and universal standards in literature, and knew that the body of writers he so ardently longed to see in Australia must work on a world basis. This idea of reconciliation between old standards and new environment he expressed clearly on an early Red Page when answering an objection regarding over-emphasis on local colour.-

> "Certainly Australian literature should not be fettered by the limits of Australia: it should be universal, and it has a right to draw its material from any source it pleases. But a writer who observes and thinks for himself in Australia cannot avoid giving his work an Australian tinge." (27)

It is not surprising, then, to find Stephens insisting that standards must be kept up. He complained that Ode for Commonwealth, written by George Essex Evans, and prize-winning poem in an Australia-wide competition in 1900, was trite stuff, unworthy of the theme, and that the panel of judges showed incompetency in its award. And he added:

> "We must keep up standards. This is a young country, with a small population, and there is only a small fund of credit and cash from which the artist can draw reward. So we want to keep the fund for the most deserving, and to dole reward in proportion to desert. Every atom of credit filched by an indifferent artist is filched from the different and better artist; every pennorth of profit gained by the not-good or good enough writer is taken from the pocket of the better and more promising writer." (28)

Stephens was lavish in praise where he saw good promise in a writer; but he refused to accept the spurious. When Johannes Carl Andersen, of New Zealand, published a book of verses - Songs Unsung - Stephens was very definite in his condemnation:

"Quite likely if Johannes Carl Andersen had had the sense to wait ten years he might have accumulated a volume of respectable minor verse. Conceit and J. Macmillan Brown have undone him. His songs are distinctly 'unsung'." (29)

Reviewing Simpson Newland's Blood Tracks of the Bush and Paving the Way, Stephens declared:

"His book remains tame. He has a fund of Australian experience, admirable energy, but not the literary brain. He cannot make his words live .... It is not energy, but specialised energy which makes a book ... Simpson Newland's imagination flares from a dramatic episode of life, but when he writes it down, the episode warms, not because of what he has written, but almost despite. And he lacks that rare architectonic faculty; his books are welded scraps crying for the furnace and the mould." (30)

Generally Stephens was judicial in his reviews. He praised where he found merit, pointed out faults, and encouraged the writer to go forward and eliminate the mistakes while strengthening the good qualities. Reviewing A. H. Adams' poetry, he stated that Maoriland and Other Verses was a book which, "with whatever shortcomings, remains a substantial achievement in the local field." (31) Some faults were then noted. --

"He is too fond of 'stunning' words, and of garish rhetoric lime-lit by exclamation points ... his

> sentiment is often good and true, but it rarely rises to even weak passion, and it frequently falls into weak sentimentality .... and his ear fails him .... some of his lines are plain prose."

Finally there was encouragement:

> "Adams has a bright mind and quick sympathy: if he improves his taste his work will improve greatly. Even now there is some of it memorable; and he is to be commended for working, for endeavouring, for trying to do the best his talent permits."

On Bayldon Stephens made this pronouncement:

> "He is no poet, for he has no lyrical quality - if he has emotion he cannot communicate it; he is no thinker - his ideas are all commonplace or worse; but he has a keen eye for a good picture and a good phrase (little ear, or instinct), and by dint of accumulating purely objective impressions he occasionally produces an intellectual effect which almost raises thought to the pitch of feeling. Naturally, therefore, he succeeds best in sonnets ... Bayldon's book has many good lines, and when he can lean on the reader for a preliminary idea they make uncommonly good verses." (32)

The Red Page criticism of John Reay Watson's book, In a Man's Mind, further illustrates Stephens' approach to criticism.--

"A London publisher's reader hailed Mr. Watson as probably an Australian Howells: local criticism has more truly found in him a minor Meredith. His imitation of Meredith's manner and mannerisms can hardly be unconscious ... When he walks on Meredith's stilts without Meredith's wit and learning to balance him, the spectacle is tedious. Page follows page of verbal contortions and posturings ... Space is wasted; the reader is fatigued and sis(*) conception of the story or its people grows no clearer - grows indeed more confused ..... There remains much to praise. In the combination of literary skill and intellectual capacity, as developed in fiction, Mr. Watson has hardly a rival among Australian writers, past or present. There is real power in his book - power of insight, power of reflection, power of analysis, power of presentation. In the dissection of motives and impulses our noted names are tyros to him. He is always concerned with thoughts, not with things; has interest in deeds only as they manifest men and women. And a very considerable imagination sustains him to the end of the story." (33)

It was when he came across something wholly Australian in sentiment and style that A.G. Stephens was happiest. He hailed Randolph Bedford's True Eyes and The Whirlwind as an achievement in the field of Australian writing. --

"Scarcely at all literary, it is all the more human

(*) NOTE: Stephens' suggested contraction for "his or her".)

therefore; though often there is a phrase that sparkles and can be looked at twice. The book is particularly welcome because it is Australian - the male of 'My Brilliant Career', and could not have been written anywhere but in Australia. The author's temperament is Australian; his big, breezy attitude is Australian, his shyness hidden under bluster is Australian; and his work represents him faithfully. The cry for a distinctive Australian literature can be met now with one book or two. And by-and-by we shall better the art while preserving the outlook." (34)

So Stephens corrected and encouraged, especially in his reviews. He was essentially "The Bookfellow", as he so often signed himself on the Red Page. Books were his delight; and he never tired of urging writers to aim at book publication. Magazine work was all right in its way; it served as an opportunity for a writer to exercise his talent, and gave him a chance to reach an audience; but it was not to be an end in itself. Magazine publication should be preliminary only; in the final stage each writer should appear with a book - something to give permanent value to his work. As Stephens expressed it -

"No 'literary man' worth the name ever dreams of contentment with 'occasional verse' and prose. He aims at a book - a dozen books - some solid achievement." (35)

Writing of C.J. Brennan's XXI Poems, Stephen stated:

"Brennan can woo alone, but he woos too tardily - his

> 'XXI Poems'... are represented as four years' output, which means an output of less than half a poem a month. And the afflatus-years slip away so quickly! Of course it is in verse, if anywhere, that mere quality is better than mere quantity, but quantity of quality is the final desideratum." (36)

Again, welcoming Louise Mack's first book - The World Is Round - he wrote:

> "THE BULLETIN, indeed, has known her before; but, though THE BULLETIN is all very well in its way, a book is different. The writer for newspapers, even for magazines, is still like the unpractised bather who paddles, half-timorously at 'the shallow end'; the writer of a book, even a little one, is like the expert swimmer who poises body, holds breath, and dives bodily into 'the deep'. Louise Mack has not gone very deep this time - half-a-yard perhaps; but then it is possible that the best diver ... cannot say he got to the bottom of the baths the first time he tried." (37)

Stephens did more than merely hope that writers would publish; after he had established himself with the Bulletin he took practical steps to aid in such publication. He went to a considerable amount of trouble to collect Barcroft Boake's poems and to gather material for a lengthy biographical memoir of the dead poet. Angus and Robertson published the book in 1897. But Stephens was not satisfied to leave the publication

of the works of Bulletin writers to outsiders. He considered that publishing was a function of a paper of such standing as the Bulletin. From 1898 until 1906 he was continuously engaged in preparing books for publication through The Bulletin Newspaper Co. Will Ogilvie's books came out in 1898 and 1903, E.J. Brady's The Ways of Many Waters in 1899. Other books of poetry followed (See Appendix 3). In 1899 also Steele Rudd's On Our Selection appeared as a Bulletin publication. The stories had run through the pages of the Bulletin and A.G. Stephens had urged a collection. It was he who arranged the sequence of stories to give the book continuity, he who designed the format and saw the book through the press. In the next year he brought out a collection of Albert Dorrington's short stories as Castro's Last Sacrament and Other Stories. In 1901 came The Bulletin Reciter and The Bulletin Story Book. Thus, in both prose and verse Stephens sought to give permanence to the work of Australian writers.

In April 1897, Joseph Furphy wrote to A.G. Stephens for advice on the possible publication of a novel he had just finished. -

> "title: 'Such is Life'; scene, Riverina and Northern Victoria; temper, democratic; bias, offensively Australian." (38)

Stephens suggested that Furphy send the manuscript. He read it and appraised the work thus:

> "Rather long-winded, yet 'Such is Life' is good. It seems to me fit to become an Australian classic, or

semi-classic, since it embraces accurate representations of our character and customs, life and scenery, which, in so skilled and methodical a form, occur in no other book I know. I think the book ought to be published and would find a sale." (39)

The long story of how Such is Life was brought to print has been told by Miles Franklin in Joseph Furphy - The Legend of a Man and his Book.(40) Such is Life was finally published in 1903. Stephens wrote later:

"Archibald and Macleod were proprietors of the Bulletin at that time. Archibald smelt the book and did not like it - too long and too slow. Macleod was content to take Archibald's opinion .... I prognosticated a tardy sale, but upon printer's estimate, thought that we could get the cost back eventually. Profit was invisible.

Fortunately for Furphy my pressure overpowered Archibald. I argued that the 'Bulletin' called itself 'the National Australian Newspaper'; that here was a National Australian book that would be relished 100 years hence - that would be relished and enjoyed now in the Bush its home. ....'The Bulletin' owed something to the land that had fostered it; other books were selling well, and the roundabouts would make up for the swings..

Archibald never liked losing money, and he saw an undeniable chance of losing a little; but he yielded to the argument. Such is Life was published with an agreement of half-profits to Furphy. I made quite clear to him that

he was lucky not to risk half-losses. The predicted slow sale began, and when I left 'Bulletin' employment two-thirds of the edition were unsold. Count it to the proprietors for righteousness." (41)

Such is Life has never been a popular success; but it holds a distinct place in Australian literature. It is probable that it would never have reached its present form or come to publication but for the judgment and enthusiasm of A.G. Stephens.

That Stephens was urging many writers to collect and publish is evident from the notes he received from all over Australia. One was from Rosamund Benham, of South Australia. --

"I have never forgotten your kindly offer to make a booklet of my verses if I would collect and add to the number ..... I assure you it is not through lack of appreciation of either the compliment or the opportunity that my bundle has never reached you." (42)

Another note from Hugh McCree reads:

"With reference to THE BOOK: How about dedicating it to you, and putting 'Encouragement' on the front doormat." (43)

And from New Zealand Edward Tregear wrote:

"Since I came here I have been thinking about what you said about publishing a little book of my poems. I should like you to advise me about the method ....." (44)

Stephens' early experience in the printing trade and his wide knowledge of books gave him the advantage of knowing how a book should be brought out.

should be brought out . Invariably the authors were pleased with the format. Will Ogilvie wrote:

> "I received the first three copies of 'Fair Girls' yesterday and like the look of the thing very well. It strikes me as being modest and in good taste. I think everything has been done that can be done for the rhymes and they must merit the rest themselves."(45)

Stephens was more than editor-publisher; he was also propagandist for his publications. He sent them round Australia and overseas and collected reviews from far and wide. The many letters he received in acknowledgment indicate that he was successful in interesting a large circle in Australian books.

From Ireland came a letter from W. B. Yeats. --

> "I write to thank you for the copy of Mr. Quinn's 'Hidden Tide', which you have been so good as to send me. Mr. Quinn has real imaginative energy, and the mastery of expression, of precision of phrase which time will doubtless give him, should make him a very interesting writer.
>
> 'The Camp Within the West' has a true solemnity and beauty in its fundamental thought." (46)

One of the chief objects of The Red Page was to stimulate criticism. Before it was established there was no general forum for literary discussion. Quite early A.G. Stephens provoked interest with an article on Tennyson (11/12/97). Brunton Stephens replied (21/12/96) with a bitter attack on the

Red Page critic's views. Frank Morton joined in (13/2/98) and the argument raged hotly for some time. Stephens also attacked the popular conception of Burns, and brought the critics in to the defence. Similarly the question of Oscar Wilde's poetic qualities was raised (21/5/98) and thoroughly thrashed out. In 1899 Stephens wrote a provocative article belittling some of the classics of world literature. It was full of statements such as these:

> "According to the standards set by present fashion, there is little poetry in the 'Paradises'. Like Queen Victoria, Milton's epics are heavy and faded."
>
> "According to present lights, the Dante and Homer of tradition are 25% genuine poetry and 75% academic humbug." (47)

J. Le Gay Brereton replied with a cleverly satirical parody of Paterson entitled The Purple Page, which Stephens printed in full (28/1/99). It mimicked the superb confidence of the Red Page critic:

> "'Tis a great ambition", the Critic said. "First listen-
> and then despair,
> You have sat at the feet of the mighty dead! but the
> dead are defunct - so there!
> And Homer and Dante were smaller men than Paterson,
> Boake and Quinn,
> But there wasn't a Purple Critic's pen to show what the
> should have been."

It mocked at his peculiarity of seeking to find physiological explanations for the oddities of literary people:

"Short-necked, full-blooded, licorous, strong, must
the Page-boomed Poet be;
(Two liquids mix in the ink of Song, and one of 'em's
blood, you see)"
"My neck is long" - "Then your cake is dough"; "Ah,
spare me the purple rest".
"Well, red corpuscles are all the go, and a short,
thick neck is best."

The Red Page of 1899 had thus become a lively centre for the expression of opinion on literary matters. It was what Stephens had hoped for. He had written:

"The object of the Red Page is to give rather stimulus than statement." (48)

And he had justified his apparently iconoclastic methods of criticism with the claim that they were designed to promote this stimulation to new ideas:

"In the matter of Tennyson (for example) there was much to be said on the other side: but it had been said already. That side had not been said already; and it badly needed saying. So with Burns. His other side had been said already; but it had been suppressed, overlain, forgotten, and clamoured to be said again". (49)

Francis Kenna summed up Stephens' position nicely in a letter written many years later:

> "I never agreed with all your criticisms, but in an age of grovel and crawl and literary incompetence, I always could admire the boldness, independence and originality of your outlook." (50)

Brunton Stephens, often the opponent of his Red Page namesake, wrote in 1897:

> "There is enough faculty for criticism in that page to run a separate review magazine." (51)

In order to stimulate a wider interest in the writing of poetry, Stephens instituted "The Bookfellow's Competitions". He called for "A Spring Song" (results 30/9/99), "A Triolet" (results 23/9/99), and a sonnet on "Australia" (results 12/5/00). The wealth of entries for these competitions is evidence of the interest shown in The Red Page and the success of Stephens' attempt to induce poetic activity. Some of the contributors were well-known, but there were many others who would never otherwise have tried their hand at serious verse. The winner of the sonnet competition was "D. Fenton" (Bernard O'Dowd) whose entry was the well-known sonnet commencing:

> "Last Sea-thing dredged by Sailor Time from space."

Stephens announced the result thus:

> "There is no difficulty in adjudging the prize of £2/2/- to D. Fenton, Supreme Court Librarian, Melbourne, whose pithy, pregnant verse has frequently adorned the columns of THE BULLETIN. His fine sonnet ... urges

> the question and the doubt which state Australia's present place in the philosophical vista; and it is an intellectual diamond, with a facet flashing in every line." (52)

From what has been said in this chapter it can be seen that the advent of A.G. Stephens to the staff of the Bulletin gave the paper a new literary aspect. Archibald had gathered together a band of writers which, by 1894, gave the Bulletin considerable prestige in the world of letters. But Archibald, enthusiastic and inspiring as he was, did not possess the qualities which make the great literary critic and guide. Stephens, who had enthusiasm, wide knowledge of books and bookmen and a sure critical instinct, was probably better fitted than any other man in Australia at the time to direct the growth of our literature. And the Bulletin of the mid-'nineties was the obvious channel through which such direction should come. It therefore came about that, under the influence of Stephens, Bulletin literature took on a dignity which it had not had before. To the inspiration provided by Australianism and democracy was added that which came from a great literary personality. People were interested in The Red Page who, in general, looked with disfavour on the Bulletin. From 1896 to 1906 that page became the literary centre of Australia - "not to appear there was to miss the road to Australasian recognition." (53)

CHAPTER 6 *

The Short Story

"We have no tales of other days,
No bygone history to tell,
Our tales are told where camp-fires blaze
At midmight, when the solemn hush
Of that vast wonderland, the Bush,
Hath laid on every heart its spell."

A. B. Paterson (B. 21/12/89) (1)

Australia had no short-story tradition when the Bulletin was founded in 1880. Some journals had specialized in short stories as matter for their Christmas numbers, and a few collections of stories had been published independently. In general these lacked vitality : preamble and digression made them tedious in style they were ornate, often stilted; the subject matter was artificial, the stories being the work of writers whose outlook was more English than Australian and whose manner of using "local colour" marked them as outsiders. The "Squatter" theme was a favourite - generally the story of an Englishman settled down as a translated squire in a new land. Such a one, for example was Bob Charlton, owner of "Charlton Grange" in a story written in 1872. -

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* See Appendix 4

"Bob Charlton shot, fished, hunted, and visited the neighbouring seigneurs and friends". (2)

We are given a picture of this lord's demesne :

"Picture to yourself an undulating landscape of meadow, through which the limpid stream slips quietly along its devious course; - on through many a broad acre of arable land, here, pausing as it were, upon its way in quiet corners to form deep and placid pools crowned with pearly water-lilies, that fling rich festoons across its surface; here, hurrying away through a narrower channel rippled by the overhanging grasses, and by the graceful reeds that bend to its caress; here, babbling and brawling across the 'Stony Ford' ; - here, becoming a broader and shallower sheet, where the horses and cattle in the home-paddock are wont to quench their thirst; here, again, its course diverted for the purpose, it embraces an artificially constructed islet, arched over with weeping willows; then away again, far away, over rocky clefts where eels and blackfish congregate, and where the station urchins love to fish - past the boundary rider's hut, past the boundary fence - away, far away."

This is fairly typical of the style and treatment of these early stories. They were often merely literary exercises, superficial and lifeless. The vital tales of the pioneering days were left untold; those who might have told them had no suitable channel for expression.

Archibald realized from the first that stories were necessary to make his new paper popular. Since very little local material was available, he used what he could get from overseas. At that stage the commercial success of the Bulletin was his primary concern, and if English stories would help sales, then English stories he would have. On June 3rd 1880 he published the first instalment of a serial entitled Adrienne - A Love-Story of the Lancashire Cotton Distress. It was an unsatisfactory attempt to create interest in the new paper, and was abandoned unfinished after running intermittently for about a year. Perhaps Archibald chose this particular story because of its social signigicance. If so, it was an isolated case at this early stage. For the first few years no policy seems to have governed the selection of stories. They were of the standard type and were used merely to add interest to the paper.

In 1880 and 1881 a few brief tales translated from the French were published. At Christmas 1881, apparently with a view to attracting the interest of the morbid and at the same time offering something at least superficially appropriate to the season, Archibald published "A Christmas Story by that distinguished murderer Arthur Lefroy". He introduced it with an editorial note:

> "Its perusal will be a psychological study of curious interest while the facsimile of the closing lines in Lefroy's own handwriting, and his signature, will prove of interest to those who believe that a man's handwriting furnishes an indication to his character." (4)

Further to create interest he added that Lefroy had been in Australia and had left the MS with a friend in Sydney. The story was conventional and sentimental - a professional clown deserted by his young and beautiful wife; his going through with the show despite a broken heart; the subsequent wide search for his lost treasure; the climax in his finding her selling matches and her death immediately after the reconciliation. It was a Christmas story ~~if~~ in? nothing but the artificial placing of the principal events at the Christmas period.

The stories of 1882 were but four in number. Taken together they provide a fair sample of the sort of story being written at that time. They were slow-moving tales on either an intensely melancholy or strongly sentimental theme. Strangely Caught (21/1/82) was of the fairy-tale variety - a young doctor's idyllic romance with a beautiful maiden who had been forced by the whim of a tyrannical father to live a secluded life within the grounds of an old English manor-house. The introduction illustrates the style in which many stories of the times were written. -

> "Past this, with artistic curve, the brook proceeds, through banks blue with forget-me-nots and feathery rush grasses, to a cottage, not pretty in itself but rendered so by a rustic porch upon which wild roses climb in plentiful confusion, intermixed with perfumed honeysuckle, the fragrance of which is carried on the breeze and wafted on the evening air, and passes along, met by other scents laden with earth's frankincense, born of God's most

lovely gifts - the flowers. "

Was She Guilty? appeared in two instalments (7 and 14/1/82). It is the mournful tale of the misfortunes of a beautiful young woman, doomed to unhappiness in two marriages, who dies of a broken heart because she is suspected by the second husband of murdering the first. Yet another young Venus appears in Wife in England, not in France (21/1/82) - a lengthy account of the brutality of a Frenchman who tricks an English girl into marrying him, absconds with her newly-acquired fortune and leaves her no redress, since English law recognises the marriage and the husband's right to the fortune, while French law repudiates her claims to support.

In 1883 came the first locally-contributed stories. Victor J. Daley was the first Australian writer to acknowledge his contribution - The Captain's Tragedy (28/7/83). It is an English tale of the conventional type and is of no consequence. There were a number of sketches with an Australian setting in 1883. Some referred to life in the towns and were probably the work of V. J. Daley or "Harold Grey" (Theodore Argles), both clever writers in the witty style. They were generally illustrated by "Hop" , (e. g. Hash - 16/6/83). More important, however, were the stories of John Farrell, who was writing for the Bulletin in 1883. He has no acknowledged prose contribution in that year, but it is safe to conclude on the evidence of style, that a number of the stories are his. About one there is no doubt - Ghostly

Gold, which appeared in the Bulletin's first special Christmas number. It covered about eleven pages and contains four stories within the main tale, two of them in verse. Its authorship is proved by the fact that one of these verse-stories appeared in the 1887 edition of How He Died and Other Verses. The other short stories of 1883 that may be attributed to Farrell are :- The Ghost - A True Story (21/7/83), Ta-ra-la (25/8/83), and Barney M'Swigge (13/10/83). In these stories there appears for the first time the anti-English feeling which we have already noted as characteristic of early Bulletin policy. The author humorously satirized the theme and style of the current Anglo-Australian stories. Such stories were written, generally, by those who had little experienc of Australian outback conditions. Farrell exposed the artificiality by turning the whole thing to ridicule. In The Ghost - A True Story he introduces a would-be squatter :

> "As he had been brought up at Eton, where loafing and squatting are taught in all its branches, he thought - like Professor Pearson, of Melbourne, who tried to breed from wethers - that he was up to snuff as far as sheep or cattle were concerned."

On the way up-country the new-chum met an old school-fellow. -

> "They made a night of it in the bush, the deeply, darkly, beautiful blue sky above, the stately eucalypt around and quite a number of empty gin bottles in the foreground."

There follows the description of the death of one Mick Casey, a boundary-rider, at the hands of a tramp:

"Hot words ensued, and seeing Mick sidling towards the axe, the tramp stepped quickly outside and returned in an instant with a circular saw he carried with him to do odd jobs for the squatters. He was the more active of the two, and poor Mick was soon reduced to about half his proper size. Still he fought bravely on, until the stranger, by a dextrous back-hander, removed the best part of his spine and hung it on a nail behind the door. Then as Mick's life gave out, he gave in, and commenced spitting blood - always a bad sign. Straightening himself as well as he could after his grievous loss, he simply remarked, 'You've got me backbone, but me money's all right.' Then he sat on the handle of the axe and expired.'

Ta-ra-la and Barney M'Swigger were in the same burlesque vein. Farrell was laughing at the English attitude which considered Australia a fair setting for adventurous stories - even the most fanciful. It was the first plea for a greater measure of realism in Australian stories, and it voiced a dislike of English patronage. At the end of 1883 "Hop" echoed the sentiment in a magnificent coloured supplement which presented the story of Reginald's Wooing - An Anglo-Australian Romance. (5) It was the highly artificial tale of a squire's son who, being forbidden to marry a tenant's daughter, migrated to Australia, became involved in various escapades, inherited estate and fortune on the sudden death of his father, saved his beloved from the hands of bushrangers, and returned with her to grace the halls of the old

English manor-house. Thus the Bulletin short story may be said to have had its rise in the anti-British feeling which Archibald represented.

Similarly the Bulletin attacked the conventional prose style so much in vogue - for Archibald it came under the heading of "cant". Early in 1884, under the caption Stock Expressions from Modern Literature, it published a series of cartoons belittling the clichés of the period. Thus the sentence "She tripped lightly down the stairs" was illustrated by the picture of a slatternly woman tripping over her skirts and tumbling, with a bucket of coals, down the stairs; while the expression "(she) tore herself from his embrace" was the title for the drawing of a huge female breaking away from a ruffian whose fist was upraised. (6)

When, in the Christmas number of 1884, (7) John Farrell published his first acknowledged story, under the title One Christmas Day, he freely satirized all the contemporary worship of convention in style and device. He introduced his tale thus :

> "It was Summer in Australia, and ' the sun was a menace staring from a sky of brass' ....."

He opposed realism to the conventional artificiality of the Anglo-Australian story :

> "As Marjory came upon the path leading to the house she was thinking - in a maidenly and pure sort of way, no doubt, but still thinking - of all the work that was to be done; of all the mouths that were to be fed; of all the weak and semi-sugarless tea that was to be bucketed out to the

men in the ensuing three or four days."

The fair lady is charged by a bull :

"If Marjory had been a heroine she would, as soon as she grasped the situation, have fixed her glorious eyes on the advancing brute and quelled him by her splendid beauty and courage. But in taking the course she did (for the nearest fence) she showed clearly that she was an average girl

Saved, of course, by the young squatter, she acts her part as convention demanded :

"Marjory allowed herself - being an average girl - to gradually recollect. And she let her sweet brown eyes grow misted with tears. How noble it was for him to kill his bull to save her life! - and how wrong of her to trespass on his ground - and would he ever forgive her, and he was her preserver, and she would ne-ne-ver forget his bravery in saving her life. All that sort of thing. Average stuff. From the FAMILY READER most of it."

In spite of his satirical sallies, Farrell's story was genuine in tone in its main theme. It is interesting to notice that in the same issue the editor, W.H. Traill, had a four-page story which was built around the squatter - beautiful girl - English estate theme. It was probably no coincidence that the development of the Australian short story really began only after Archibald had resumed control in 1886. Meantime, Farrell, in applying

Bulletin unconventionalism to the short story, was breaking down the artificiality that had prevailed earlier, and was preparing th way for a new type of Australian short story.

The number of short stories increased slowly during the next few years. Several witty sketches appeared in 1885, from the pen of "Austral", and a few more of the stock sentimental stories were allowed (for example, The Golden Bullet - 8/8/85.) The horse element came in with Tom Truefit's Last Tip (10/10/85) and The Flying Buck (31/10/85), The latter was the nearest approach to a naturally Australian story that had yet appeared in the Bulletin However, it was a light affair, and a lonely forerunner. It was not until the end of 1887 that the first full-scale, genuinely Australian story first came to print. This was The Profitable Pub (better known as A Golden Shanty) by Edward Dyson. It was published in the Christmas number (24/12/87).

With Dyson the Australian short story had its beginning. He wrote from direct experience, not from a detached and academic point of view. Referring to his early life in Alfredton, near Ballarat, he wrote later :

> "Here all the staple materials of Australian literature were easy and accessible. Before our skillion door boomed half-a-dozen deep mines, on the edge of the famous Sebastopol plateau; behind was the big bush, teeming with agricultural and pastoral interest; east was a very serviceable plain; west more bush and the grand cattle yards, a maze of pens to which once a week came the

splendid drovers with their drifting sheep and their mobs of sullen cattle .... More especially it is remembered as a kaleidoscope of ardent character ...'Geordies', Cousin Jacks', 'Irish' and a sprinkling of Swedes, Italians, Germans and Frenchmen, generically known as Dutchmen, each with his marked traits...Here too came the waning tribes of natives on periodical visits, whining for 'tickpen', greedy for tobacco and beer. There were occasional batches of Chinese fossickers, too....." (8)

These experiences came out later in his stories, as did his other experiences as a factory worker in Melbourne. Dyson enunciated his literary creed thus :

"(At first) I wrote purely fictitious stuff.....Early Bulletin sketches breathed a more intimate note, and with 'A Golden Shanty' and 'The Haunted Mine' I began the systematic use of my reserves. Since then the process of soakage and seepage has gone on. Never is soakage deliberate, and experience teaches me that matter is of little use for literary purposes unless it has come by chance and till it is thoroughly digested. Perfect assimilation is not attained under five years....." (9)

Dyson's stories became a feature of the Bulletin after 1887. He was by far the most prolific writer of short stories for its pages, Between 1887 and 1906 he had more than one hundred stories accepted; nor was his material then exhausted, for he went on

writing for another fifteen years. His stories showed variety of incident and character and were always genuine in tone. They were in absolute harmony with general Bulletin policy. Some (e.g. Mr. and Mrs. Sin Fat - 14/4/88) were written in direct support of its political programme; the others were democratic in essence, dealing always sympathetically with the lives of the miners, and pleading for greater consideration for them in their difficult lot. Of Dyson's technical qualities A. G. Stephens wrote :

> "Dyson's literary style is extremely terse and lucid, his effects are clearly seen and cleverly worded; and he finishes his stories cleanly and well, as a good prose workman should.....his knowledge is ample and his touch sure. The lights on Chinese characters in 'A Golden Shanty' and 'Mr. and Mrs. Sin Fat' (10) are ...vivid, and these stories are bedecked by a somewhat sardonic humour which makes them among the most interesting the author has penned. Of Dyson's skill in climaxing grim tragedy 'The Trucker's Dream' (11) and 'After the Accident' (12) are leading examples : the tales could hardly be constructed better. Indeed, only a certain hardness of touch, a certain lack of vivifying emotion, prevents Dyson from excelling almost any competitor in the art of dramatic story-telling. " (13)

Two other important contributors made their appearance in 1887. The first was "Scotty the Wrinkler" (Philip Newbray) who wrote

many short sketches on a variety of bush topics.[14] The second was Ernest Favenc ("Delcomyn"), whose first story of outback life in the far North was published on February 26th.[15] It was a humorous account of how a group of bullock drivers was deceived by a fair criminal masquerading as a baronet's daughter. It is the type of bush yarn - short, simple, and naturally told, with no complications of plot - which became the standard for many Bulletin stories. In his later stories Favenc retained his easy style, and his bushman's humour spiced many a tale. But he leaned strongly towards the fantastic. In A Haunt of the Jinkarras (B. 5/4/90), for example, he tells quite seriously of the discovery of a tribe of Australian Yahoos. He has, beside: weird accounts of re-incarnation and ghostly visitations. He thus had certain affinities with those earlier writers who looked at Australia as a land of mystery and wonder. However, he wrote as one who really knew Australia, and he eschewed the artificial style and the sentimental treatment. Because of this, and because his output was of considerable bulk (some eighty stories in the Bulletin) he ranks among the founders of the Australian short-story tradition.

In 1888 Archibald's call for stories began to appear regularly. He asked for :

> "short Tales and Sketches (those dealing with Australian subjects and not exceeding two columns in length or say 3000 words, are specially acceptable)." (16)

The red-covered Bulletin was firmly established by 1888,

and it was not long before Archibald's call was answered. Many wrote paragraphs which found their place amongst the Aboriginalities but many more tried their hand at the formal short story.

Henry Lawson's first story - His Father's Mate - was published in the Bulletin at Christmas 1888 (22/12/88). In the fifteen years that followed, fifty-two stories from his pen appeared on its pages.(17) The Drover's Wife was printed on July 23rd 1892; Mitchell aired his philosophy throughout 1893; Steelman came on the scene a little later (19/1/95); "The Oracle" told his story on January 30 1899. New South Wales stories, New Zealand stories, West Australian stories - all appeared in the pages of the Bulletin. Henry Lawson, our greatest short-story writer, served his apprenticeship with the Bulletin. Like Dyson, he wrote of what he knew; and he knew best the simple bush folk. Of these he wrote sympathetically and sincerely. As the Bulletin had inspired his first attempts at verse, so it was his guide when he turned to short stories; and Archibald's spirit was in much of what he wrote.

The Bulletin did not give Lawson that touch of genius which made him a great story-teller; but it encouraged him in a practical manner and trained him as a writer. It is no derogation from Lawson's achievement to admit that he was originally in need of guidance in the literary field. His own comment on Archibald's remark (B. 1/10/87) that this "genius" had not yet completed his education was :

"N. B . I couldn't spell". (18)

And when Lawson, at a later period (1900),[19] sneered at his early helpers, the Bulletin felt constrained to remind him of his debt. ----

> "Nobody knows better than Lawson how generously he has been helped by the brains and time of men much less talented, but in some ways more talented than himself; how the misspelt, ungrammatical but forcible copy of his early days was edited into something like decent form - form for which Lawson took credit with the matter; how many crudities and deformities have been removed from his work by friendly hints. The original value of the work was always his own; but the helpers who strove to make that value more manifest, whose help was so often necessary to make it manifest, deserve something better than a sneer for their pains." (20)

Of the practical assistance rendered by the Bulletin Lawson had written in 1899. ---

> "Up to a couple of years ago "The Bulletin" paid me at a fixed rate of a guinea a column; but advances written off and special prices for special matter brought it nearer 30s. per column all through." (21)

P. R. Stephenson claims that the Bulletin did an injustice to Lawson and to Australian literature in tying him down to short stories. ---

> "Archibald wanted short stories and sketches and poems for his paper, so Lawson became a writer of fragments, suitable

> for newspaper rather than book publication, and the great works, the ample and leisured works which Lawson might have written, and which Australia required of him, remained unwritten." (22)

There can be no justification for such a charge. True, the Bulletin was not interested in novels as 'copy'; but there was nothing to prevent Bulletin writers from attempting longer works. Dyson did, several times. So did Louise Mack, Ethel Turner, Randolph Bedford, Louis Becke, Ambrose Pratt, E.J. Brady and J.H.M. Abbot. A.G. Stephens was not the man to discourage any promising writer from attempting a large-scale work. He sighed for the great Australian novel. Reviewing Tales of the Old Regime by William Astley ("Price Warung"), he wrote :

> "It seems pity that he did not endeavour to mass in a longer and climaxed story the impressions he has recorded ...A good long story has more of the essence of permanent force than a good short one, or even a series of good short ones." (23)

The limitation lay rather with Lawson. By disposition he was suited for the short burst required for this type of story. It is extremely doubtful whether he could have mustered sufficient perseverence to see him through a novel. The leisure he certainly had. There is no evidence of active discouragement on the part of the Bulletin.

After Lawson came many others who contributed to the making of the Australian short story. James Edmond had made a start

early in 1888. New writers in 1889 were A.B. Paterson, Francis Adams, Randolph Bedford and J.A. Philp. In 1890, for the first time, every number for the year carried short stories - there were one hundred and seventeen in all - and it was apparent that the Australian short story was firmly established. All through the 'nineties the spate of contributions went on. Between January 1st 1890, and December 31st 1900, approximately 1,400 stories were published in the Bulletin. In the period covered by Appendix 4 more than two hundred and fifty contributors had signed stories published. If we add to this the number of anonymous writers (which was considerable), and those whose stories were rejected, it becomes apparent that the short story was exciting widespread interest in Australia. No doubt the movement was connected with the general world interest in short stories during the 'nineties; but it is clear that in Australia it was the Bulletin which provided the stimulus for self-expression in many writers and gave them scope for their work.

Archibald imposed his own standards on the short-story writers whom he encouraged. His insistence on brevity has been noticed already, as also the fact that most of the writers appreciated the discipline it inculcated. He set the general rule as a 3,000-word story (two columns), although he preferred them to be shorter. Since the Bulletin was recognised as the best market for short stories, Archibald's standards were accepted; and as a result the discursive style

of story-writing largely disappeared during the 'nineties.

Since Archibald encouraged all to write about what they knew, it was not surprising that the Bulletin stories were marked by variety. Ernest Favenc wrote of strange adventures in the far North; "Price Warung" of incidents of the convict era - ninety-six stories in about two years. Mannington Caffyn told stories of Sydney life, Louis Becke of strange happenings in the Pacific islands, Alex. Montgomery of Malayan experiences. "Steele Rudd" sketched life "On Our Selection", C.A. Jeffries told of romance and reality in the life of the New Zealand railway worker, and Albert Dorrington took his readers in spirit "Along the Castlereagh." They were vigorous, vital stories, sometimes overdone, sometimes melodramatic, but always told at first hand. Generally what they lacked in subtlety they made up for in either humour or dramatic intensity; if they had little room for the development of character, the restriction saved them from the artificiality of long preamble and the tedium of digression. In the Bulletin stories of the 'nineties it is truth to nature that stands out predominant. These tales were "the literary dreams of men of action, or the literary realisation of things seen by wanderers." (24) Lawson knew his tramps, Dyson his miners, "Steele Rudd" his selectors, Louis Becke his beachcombers, C.A. Jeffries his "Rail and Semaphore" men. This accounts for the difference between their stories and those of earlier Australian writers who had written from a romantic viewpoint. It accounts also for the fact that there is preserved in the pages of the Bulletin of the 'nineties a broad picture of life in

Australia at that period. True, the emphasis is on the Australia of the outback. But the Australia of the 19th century was agricultural and pastoral rather than urban, and the emphasis was in the right place.

When A.G. Stephens established himself as reviewer and critic for the Bulletin a new period in the development of the Australian short story commenced. Archibald had created the field for the short-story writer, and had inspired a group of enthusiasts in that field by 1894. He had determined the tone of Bulletin stories, and had established canons of presentation and style. Stephens brought principles of criticism into play and succeeded in giving the short story literary standing.

Early in 1896 (Feb.29th.) The Red Page carried an article by J.H. Greene, himself a notable Bulletin contributor. He wrote:

> "The short story is the reduction of literature to a paragraph ..... The short story has little grip, and few even the best will bear reading twice .... The short story is written so that no-one need think or exercise his imagination."

To which A.G. Stephens replied (31/3/96) :

> "There go Poe and Bret Harte and a good half of Hawthorne! There go Kipling and Stevenson, Quiller Couch and Marriott Watson, Ella D'Arcy, H.D. Lowry and all the new English tribe ..... over the Balzac and Maupassant, Gautier and Mendès, Bourget and Merrimée and Richepin ..... why, it

is the crowning merit of the short story that it gives thought and imagination scope! The good old solid type of novel in three volumes leaves absolutely nothing to the imagination. The stolid British public refuses to imagine 'worth a cent' ..... But in lively, alert-minded France - the home of the conte - the imagination does not grovel, it mounts and flies like the dying Christian's soul."

Having thus early made his position in this connection clear, Stephens set himself to raise the literary standard of the Australian short story. He criticised, set down rules, established a desideratum. J.H. Greene had written (B. 29/2/96

"It appears to me that this condensation is pushed further in 'The Bulletin' than anywhere else. There is more decoration, scenery even, in Maupassant, Coppée, Quiller-Couch and other short-story writers than in BULLETIN work. Consequently there is a loss in the letter."

Stephens replied when he set down the rule to be followed by Bulletin short-story writers (11/4/96):

"The only justification for scenery is as an aid to the story. The story is the thing to consider. Whatever helps it, prepares the way for it, deepens the impression which it makes upon the reader, is an advantage; anything more is a disadvantage. Thus the introduction - if there is an introduction - must be

always germane to the story, and must never overweight it. The shorter the story, the shorter the introduction as a matter of course. A composer precedes an opera with an overture; but he never dreams of overturing each concerted number in the opera. At most he gives a preparatory bar or two. So in THE BULLETIN, where consideration of space limits most story tellers to about two columns, it would be obviously inadvisable to spend a column, or even half-a-column, in an introduction, however intrinsically brilliant, which did not help the story or the climax."

Stephens felt that there was far too much of the merely episodic story amongst Australian writers. He wanted them to aim at book-publication, not merely at a transient appearance in the columns of a journal. He criticised Lawson on this account, pointing out that While The Billy Boils lacked continuity and was therefore marred as a book. --

"The reader is perpetually getting up steam for a five-minutes journey which brings him back to the starting point." (25)

The Red Page critic realised that the writers needed the practice afforded by publication. But he distinguished between what they were doing and what they were aiming at. He refused to judge them by merely local standards, and paid them the compliment of considering their work in terms of universal principles. --

"Australian writers run too much to the easy, detached, realistic sketch - not too much if it be considered that they are young and learning, but too much if they are judged without reference to local conditions, as artists merely." (26)

Applying universal standards, Stephens insisted that stories, though arising from personal experience and first hand contacts, should nevertheless have a catholic appeal. He noted the lack of this in Alex. Montgomery. ---

"His stories are still too sketchy, too detached and objective to be classed with the best examples of the conte. No matter how brilliantly scenes and phrases are pictured, if they be isolated the picture lacks permanence. To be enduring literary work must be brought into contact with some primal fact of humanity: there must be a universal moral in it. Not the moral of the Sunday-School tract, dragged in brutally in violation of perspective and probability, but the natural moral which, abstractly considered, every incident in life has for all things living." (27)

Of the Bulletin writers at that time he gave the palm to Albert Dorrington in this respect. --

"He has something of the undercurrent of meaning, the all human reference, that our dogma demands." (28)

Reviewing Barbara Baynton's Bush Studies in 1903, Stephens was loud in his praise of her stories - "four of them are in all

essentials perfect as far as they go." (29) But he qualified his praise. --

> "Always or nearly always Mrs. Baynton remains on the first plane of realism - she describes wonderfully well the thing she sees; but the thing is not a human type, or is a human type for Australia only. So that the reader, on the third plane, has to strain his mind to an unfinished piece of realistic art, if he would receive the message which is that art's justification and climax. And if he have not Australian knowledge, this is a task which the reader cannot achieve." (30)

Comparing Alex. Montgomery and Louis Becke as short-story writers, Stephens put forward his view that emotional impact is the most important thing in the short story. --

> "In Alex Montgomery's stories the appeal is almost wholly intellectual. He rarely excites passion .... He builds his tales as he might build a chess problem, and the pleasure they bring is very much akin to the pleasure attending a chess-problem's solution. He is the scienced story-teller - making infallible point after point and clinching all in a dextrous climax - as opposed to the natural story-teller like Becke, with his transcripts of South Sea Island life in which Nature is everything, and the narrator's art is confined to the recital of his vivid emotional impressions ..... The essence of good fiction, as of good poetry, is 'emotion remembered in tranquility' - but even in

tranquility there should be 75 per cent emotion. And Becke gets nearer the ratio than Montgomery!" (31)

Although Stephens found fault, insisted on high standards, and was slow to give unmitigated praise, he was, nevertheless, constantly encouraging writers. To a promising author he might suggest a subject, as he did to Roderic Quinn, for example, in 1899. Quinn wrote:

> "Let me thank you for your suggestion as to 'Margaret'. I think it would make a splendid story - and I think I am capable of doing it and I ask you to wait a little while so that I may tackle it with a mind pure of everything but enthusiasm for my work." (32)

His reviews encouraged while they corrected. Of Lawson he wrote in 1896:

> "His instincts of assimilation and selection are matched in his later work by his instinct of expression. His quaint, simple style suits his themes and mode of thought And his manner is strengthening. The happy word and phrase comes to him easily, the incidents fall without effort into place; his picture is made before he knows. Lawson is beginning to find himself." (33)

Again, reviewing On Our Selection, Stephens had great praise to offer to "Steele Rudd":

> "The story 'The Parson and the Scone' is inimitably told; but so, too, is the story of Dave's snakebite, of the training of Old Bess to win the Overhaul Handicap, or

of half-a-dozen other episodes of 'Our Selection's' history. In Arthur Davis, indeed, we have the first Australian humourist who has risen to the eminence of a book; he takes as a writer of humourous prose the place which A. B. Paterson holds as a writer of humourous verse; and is even more racy and of the soil. Lawson's is a saturnine humour; but Paterson and Davis bubble with spontaneous fun." (34)

Both Archibald and Stephens carried out the policy of giving permanence to the short-story writers by publishing their works in book form. In 1890 Archibald brought out A Golden Shanty - Stories and Sketches. It was a composite volume of prose and verse, and gave anthology representation for the first time to Henry Lawson, Edward Dyson, and James Edmond in prose and to A. B. Paterson in verse. Later Archibald published Tales of The System by "Price Warung", and The Last of Six - Tales of the Australian Tropics by Ernest Favenc. Stephens' work in this direction has already been noticed. In The Bulletin Story Book he put on permanent record at least one story by each of sixty-two writers. The book is important as a representation of what had been done in the short-story field by the Bulletin in its most flourishing years In his introduction to the volume Stephens summarised this achievement, recognised its limitations, held up the ideal and affirmed his strong faith in the future of the Australian short story. --

"In collating these stories and literary sketches from the files of THE BULLETIN the aim has been to make an interesting book .... In most of them still throbs the keen vitality of the parent stem: many are absolute transcripts of the Fact, copied as faithfully as the resources of language will permit. Hence many of them, remaining level with Nature, remain on the lower level of art - which at its highest level is not imitative but creative ..... Every story of a man or woman should be a microcosm of humanity; every vision of Nature should hold an imagiation of the Universe. These be counsels of perfection which it is easier to teach than to practise, though many writers in other lands have practised them. So we take the good the God's provide, and are properly grateful, while striving for better and best". (35)

CHAPTER 7.

"The Bulletin" and Australian Poetry.

"Its music must be rich and rare,
Inspiring, deep, and strong;
It shall be our nation's greeting,
Sung to set the warm hearts beating
In the bosoms of the throng.
Yes, a blazoned part that song shall be
Of our Australia's destiny -
... Will someone sing her song!"

R. J. Cassidy (B. 1/3/06) (1)

It was in the sphere of poetry that the Bulletin best fulfilled its early promise to produce a journal "unsurpassed in the vigour, freshness and geniality of its literary contributors." (2)
In 1930 A. G. Stephens could assert with confidence:

> "There are few writers of verse in these countries who could or can truly declare that they have never offered a poem to THE BULLETIN." (3)

Stephens spoke with some authority, because he had been closely associated with Australian poetry for many years, even after he had left the Bulletin in 1906. It is interesting to note that, even in 1930, he insisted primarily on the national aspect of poetry. -

> "The national use of poetry is to sing, to chant, to represent, to reinforce and heighten and lead onwards the current of national life. In fifty years of verse THE BULLETIN has given stimulus and support to many men and women who have striven faithfully and passionately to express the beauty and strength they saw about them, the fun and grief and glory of Australia. Past all errors and inadequacies, THE BULLETIN'S service as a mouthpiece and market place of poetry must in perpetuity be remembered." (4)

The emphasis here is correct for the Bulletin of the period under consideration. It early proclaimed itself a "National paper", and Archibald showed preference for verse which had a political or social significance. He was not interested in the "literary" qualities of such verse; he wanted a vigorous representation of the affairs that the nation had most at heart. And he achieved his object. In the first few years there was much verse that was conventional and moralising in tone. But as the Bulletin spread, and particularly after Traill had given it a nationalistic bias, its verse reflected its general attitude on most affairs. Its aggressive policy towards England, for example, was expressed as early as 1883 in John Farrell's protest against the practice of dumping English criminals in Australia:

> "Full-faced to England we will speak our thought,
> As brethren of their sons, whose fathers stood,

And, writing 'Waterloo' with English blood,
Paid the large wage when liberty was bought.

.....

So we, today, stand firmly by the sea,
And call across, with clear, unfaltering tongue,
To that imperial country whence we sprung:
'This foul, un-English insult shall not be!'" (5)

The Federation ideal inspired many attempts to sing the praises of Australia. Collected, they would make a very impressive display of virile verse. There is dignity and a certain magnificence in James Edmond's Australia, written in 1891. -

"Land of the Earth's first morning, in the farthest
Orient set,
Where the night of ancient chaos and the earliest
dawning met,
Whose cliffs were built by the giants in the ages
of long ago -
Their hands were the rushing waters and the ocean's
restless flow,
And their spade was the old Ice River, and their
plane the desert blast,
And their hammer was the cataract in the dark,
forgotten past;
Land of unfathomed darkness whose beginning none
may know,
Whose cities of old mayhap are sunk in the sombre

caves below,
Whose fathers, perchance, were heroes when the sun
that gilt their spears
Had not grown old with the weary load of the endless
waste of years,
Awake from the long, long slumber by the shore of the
sunlit sea,
Awake, for the voice of the Future has spoken a message
to thee!" (6)

There is imaginative force in Bernard O'Dowd's sonnet - Australia - of 1900:

"Last sea-thing dredged by sailor Time from Space,
Are you a drift Sargasso, where the West
In halcyon calm rebuilds her fatal nest?
Or Delos of the coming Sun God's race?
Are you for Light, and trimmed, with oil in place,
Or but a Will O' Wisp on marshy quest?
A new demesne for Mammon to infest?
Or lurks millenial Eden 'neath your face?

The cenotaphs of species dead elsewhere
That in your limits leap and swim and fly,
Or trail uncanny harp-strings from your trees,
Mix omens with the auguries that dare
To plant the Cross upon your forehead sky,
A virgin helpmate Ocean at your knees." (7)

And there is a manly fervour in Cecil Poole's A Commonwealth

"Thou Shining and Eternal One - whose Presence broodeth
still,
In might, upon the peoples Thou has made;
Though Thou triest her with trouble, give her yet
the lofty will
That seeks a righteous purpose unafraid.
O, give her men to mount a rugged destiny but high;
With ever hearts to cherish her and ready hearts to die
For that dear and mighty Motherland - Australia." (8)

In the social sphere as well as in the political the Bulletin was the mouthpiece of democratic idealism throughout the 'eighties and the 'nineties. There is an anthology yet to be compiled from its columns which will tell almost a continuous story of the political and social development of Australia during seventy years. The story will even reach back to the gold-hunting days (Lawson's The Roaring Days).(9) It will tell of the land troubles (25/1/89), and sweated labour (7/8/89), and the great dock strike (14/9/89); of the Federation campaign and the ideal achieved (28/5/98, 19/1/01); of the White Australia Struggle (9/5/03); of bitterness over the choice of a Federal capital site; of the Boer War (4/11/99) and of Gallipoli (19/8/15) - indeed of all prominent events and movements in Australian history since 1880. And when that anthology is compiled it will show that Bulletin nationalism and the policy of encouraging a popular poetry has something positive to show in the realms of literary achievement.

The reader will catch some of the spirit which animated A Ballad of Eureka in a period when the Eureka Stockade was a symbol of Australian independence. -

"God rest you, Peter Lalor!
For you were a white man whole;
A swordblade in the sunlight
Was your bright and gallant soul.

.....

Within the Golden City,
In the place of peace profound,
The Heroes sleep. Tread softly;
'Tis Australia's Holy Ground.
And evermore Australia
Will keep green in her heart's core
The memory of Lalor,
And the Men of Fifty-four." (10)

Or he will sense the democratic fervour which inspired Bernard O'Dowd's early poetry. -

"Ye have waited long, not taking heed,
While traitors misruled in your place;
But right prevails in the hour of need,
And the brutal law and the rich man's greed
Ye have fought them face to face." (11)

Perhaps the strong feelings aroused by the disputes between the shearers' unions and the pastoralists in Queensland may be

made real for us in the ballads and poems of 1891. We may sense again the idealism which sustained the Unionists:

"We are shearers, and not wealthy,
We have little in our store;
But our hearts are true and healthy,
We are Union to the core,
Now the Saviour's Twelve Apostles
Found a Blackleg in their crew;
So, when we first came to jostles,
We found Blacklegs with us too.

But let Scabs and Blacklegs falter,
And let Squatters' Gatlings roar;
True to Truth, we cannot alter -
We are Union to the Core." (12)

As we read Louis Randall's For Australia (B. 12/5/04) we may appreciate the feelings of those for whom the White Australia policy was a vital issue. -

"We stand for a White Australia, let the case be what it may,
What odds (when the price is money), we are the ones to pay;
And we fight for a race unsullied by the heathen's vice and lust,
And we fight for our wives and children and freedom to earn a crust.
Ye prate of the 'empty cradle' who loll in the easy chair,

And spend your idle moments in the wanton's
childless lair;
Not for the Fatman's profit, or lust of the
played-out rake,
We will rear a race of people - nay! for
Australia's sake."

Henry Lawson will be there, warning apathetic Australia as early as 1904 of the danger of future invasion and of the foolishness of leaving the land undeveloped. -

"I wrote of the unlocked rivers, in the days when my
heart was full,
And I pleaded for irrigation where they sacrificed all
for wool;
I pictured Australia fighting when the coast had been
lost and won -
With arsenals west of the mountains, and every spur
its gun.

.....

Had we used the time we have wasted, and the gold
we have thrown away,
The pick of the world's mechanics would be over the
Range today,
In the valley of coal and iron, where the breeze from
the bush comes down,
And thousands of makers of all things would be happy
in Factory Town.

They droned on the rim of Australia - the wise men who
never can learn:
Our substance we sent to the nations, their shoddy we
bought in return.
In the end shall our soldiers fight naked, no help for
them under the sun,
And never a borrowed cartridge in the breach of a
borrowed gun?

.....

And God pardon our sins as a people, if Invasion's
unmerciful hand
Should strike at the heart of Australia drought-cramped
on the verge of the land." (13

But the anthology is yet to come, and much verse that should be remembered lies buried in the files of the Bulletin.(14) At present one must go through these to be convinced of the force of this great volume of verse. It is then that one realises that in the period about the turn of the century the Bulletin was responsible for rendering vocal a great political and social fervour. That it did so was due to the nature of the paper and the encouragement given by the editor, J. F. Archibald. Those who wrote such verse had little pretension to be literary in the accepted sense; and because, like J. F. Archibald, they were unconventional, their work has a force which makes it distinctive. It is of little use for P. R. Stephensen to lament that -

"The Bulletin under Archibald did not encourage fine literature; it encouraged crude literature." (15)

The crudity of early Bulletin verse was counterbalanced by enthusiasm and sincerity; and from it we get a true picture of the Australia of the period.

One of the most prominent topical writers during the 'eighties and the 'nineties was Victor J. Daley. As "Creeve Roe" he contributed a constant flow of witty verse on a wide range of popular topics. A Bohemian by nature, he was at home in the unconventional atmosphere of Archibald's office; and being brilliant in his own way, he attracted a coterie which found a focal point of interest in literary journalism in general and in the Bulletin in particular. Daley held a broad view of the poet's sphere - a view expressed in The Poet (B. 24/9/87) -

"His thoughts are with the eagles
Though his feet are limed with clay;
He feels the flush of dawning
Ere others see the day.

.....

No scorn has he for small things -
Life's web of threads is spun;
The sparkle in the dewdrop
May be some small world's sun.

.....

His thought electric touches
God and worm at either pole;
From the nadir to the zenith
Is the stature of his soul."

The Bulletin was Daley's normal channel for the expression

of his thoughts on topical affairs; it became the medium through which he published his lyric verse. In fact he may be said to have established a lyric tradition in the Bulletin. For he was Australia's chief lyric poet for the last twenty years of his life, and practically all of his verse was written in its columns.

Archibald, who sought popular material primarily, did not reject lyric poetry. In Daley he recognised a poet of sensibility as well as strength; and he published his lyrics in the columns reserved for "Original Verse" and "Various Verse". Here appeared, for example, A Sunset Fantasy (B. 21/8/88), which won Daley considerable acclaim. Though in a style now quite out of fashion, it can still give a glimpse of the vision which inspired his verse. -

"Our ship shall be of sandal built,
Like ships in old-world tales,
Carven with cunning art and gilt,
And winged with scented sails
Of silver-silk, whereon the red
Great gladioli burn,
A rainbow-flag at her mast-head
A rose-flag at her stern."

Thirteen years later Daley still preserved the true poetic vision which looked behind the appearances of reality into the imaginative world of creative art. He cried out against the "grim Gods of Reality, and iron-handed Circumstance" in his poem Romance (B. 13/12/02).

"They say that fair Romance is dead, and in her cold
grave lying low,
The green grass waving o'er her head, the mould upon
her breasts of snow;
Her voice, they say, is dead for aye, that once was
clarion-clear and high -
But in their hearts, their frozen hearts, they know
that bitterly they lie.

.....

She still is here, the fair and dear, and walks the
Earth with noiseless feet;
Her eyes are deep, and dark, and clear, her scarlet
mouth is honey sweet;
A chaplet fair of roses rare and lordly laurel crowns
her head;
Her path is over land and sea. She is not dead; she
is not dead."

Daley, the lyrist, had a marked influence on Roderic Quinn, whose verses were printed in the Bulletin over a fifty-year period commencing in 1894. In 1898 (October 15) A. G. Stephens printed Quinn's The Camp Within the West on The Red Page, and praised it highly. It appeared again later (29/12/00), superbly illustrated by the young Norman Lindsay. The poem was Quinn's imaginative reaction to the sight of homeless bushfire victims moving over the Blue mountains, and serves to show that Bulletin poetry sometimes reached the heights of lyric expression. -

"O did you see a troop go by
Way-weary and oppressed,
Dead kisses on the drooping lip
And a dead heart in the breast?

Yea, I have seen them one by one .
Way-weary and oppressed,
And when I asked them, 'Whither speed?'
They answered, 'To the West!'

And were they pale as pale could be -
Death pale with haunted eyes,
And did you see the hot white dust
Range round their feet and rise?

O, they were pale as pale could be,
And pale as an embered leaf;
The hot white dust had risen, but
They laid it with their grief.

.....

O yea, and some were mute as death,
Though shot with many a dart,
With them the salt of inward tears
Went stinging through the heart.

.....

Shed tears for them .. Nay, nay, no tears!
Theyyearn for endless rest;
Perhaps large stars will burn above
Their camp within the West."

The Bulletin made Roderic Quinn as a poet. It provided the practice his art required and the practical encouragement his improvident nature cried out for. In 1899 it published a collection of his poems in The Hidden Tide; and in 1901 a further collection in The Circling Hearths. All but one of these poems had appeared in the Bulletin. Quinn, like Daley, is out of favour. But he has his place in our literature as a lyric poet; and when his worth is assessed it will be found that his best work was done in the congenial atmosphere of the Bulletin and under the guidance of Archibald and A.G. Stephens.

The lyric verse which found a place in the columns of the Bulletin was generally the outcome of a genuine attempt to express experience. Something of the variety of Australian life and the Australian scene found its way into song - some of it memorable, much not. Mary Gilmore (then Mary Cameron) was encouraged by the publication of her early simple reflections on domestic life. Thus Marri'd appeared at Christmas 1898. -

"It's singin' in an' out
An' roun' about the place,
'N' here an' there 'n' up an' down
'N' feelin' full o' grace.

It's watchin' out the door,
An' watchin' by the gate;
An' watchin' down the road
Because it's gettin' late.

An' feelin' awful glad
Like them that watched Silo'm -
An' all o' this because
My man is comin' home."

Others too, could chant in utter simplicity of family interests - for example "Lola Ridge" (R. Webster) in Baby's Sick (B. 30/7/03). -

"He scarce looks out the doorway,
Nothing cares
For joys of Alpine climbing
On the chairs.
There lie his shovel
And his pick;
No need to watch the pathway -
Baby's sick."

Kathleen Walker wrote of the Western District of Victoria as she knew it - for example of Lake Colac thus (B. 10/12/03) -

"The white mist lies on the lone grey water,
Silent and soft and still,
Like quiet ghosts of the days gone over,
Raised at the breeze's will.
To and fro are the shadows drifting
Over the tideless wave,
And the sunbeams strike on the fog, that shifting,
A rainbow glory gave."

E. S. Emerson ("Milky White") put into verse an aboriginal legend of The Birth of the Tambo (B. 27/12/06). -

"It was years ago, when the Gods were young
And the earth was a jewel rare,
That the Tambo river was given tongue
For the sake of a maiden fair.

.....

She came swift-foot from the lowland ways -
From the heart of the joyous spring,
And up where the White Alps met her gaze
She looked at the great Snow King.

.....

Ah! they met at last, and her blood was hot -
Was hot with her youth's desire;
And the Snow King yearned, but his heart was not
An altar for mortal fire.

.....

Yet he held her close when she clung to him
As a lover she longed to keep,
And, lo when the night came, grey and dim,
She lay in his arms asleep.

.....

Ah, cold and calm was his soft caress,
As he covered her up with care,
Kissing her lips and each golden tress
Of her out-spread red-gold hair

.....

And he wept great tears, as a lover weeps
Through many an after morn,
And thus, for the sake of a maid who sleeps,
Was the Tambo River born."

.....

There was much besides, in the purely reflective vein. Louise Mack wrote many delicate lyrics which were later collected and published by the Bulletin. Other contributors never rose to the dignity of a collection. From North Queensland, in 1897, "P. Luftig" (Peter Airey) sent this reflection on The Power of Circumstance:

"A raindrop fell from the Asphodel
Deeps of a summer sky
In a scoriac bed on Vesuvius side
In the lambent lap of the lava tide
It sank to die.

A raindrop fell in the snowy bell
Of a fairy flower;
It glistened and gleamed in its beauty there
Like a diamond decking a forehead fair
In a bridal hour.

A raindrop fell in a sheeny shell
By Oman's wave;
It softly slipped 'neath the watery whirl
Of the dreaming deep and woke - a pearl
In Ocean cave."

James Alex Allen sang The Song of the Underseas in cryptic strain (14/12/06), concluding thus:

"Shall I slip to the shades of the Afterwhile,
Ere I buffet the breasting breeze
That lifts in palms to the outer isle
And chants on the nether seas?
Rede me, O shore-swell plunging green;
Riddle me, cloud drift straight and slow;
This - is the world I have never seen -
The world I shall never know."

It is not possible by brief quotation to do full justice to the contribution made by the Bulletin to Australia's poetic tradition. Some idea of its extent may be gained by considering that from the early 'nineties nearly every issue carried at least one column devoted to serious poems. As many as six short poems might appear in one week; or perhaps the whole column would be given to one longer poem. There was variety in subject matter and style, though the standard lyric themes were constantly recurring. Arthur Adams wrote sonnets on New Zealand's cities;(17) Hubert Church on its coastline. The sonnet, indeed, found favour with many contributors. A.D.H. Bayldon and J. Le Gay Brereton, competed in this form in 1893 to commemorate the tercentenary of the death of Christopher Marlowe. Bayldon thus:

"With Eastern banners rustling in the breeze,
Royal processions, sounding fife and gong
And showering jewels to the jostling throng,

March to the tramp of Marlowe's harmonies.
He drained life's brimming goblet to the lees.
He recked not that a compeer calm and strong
Would tune great notes to his impassioned song,
And top his cannonading lines with ease.
To the wild clash of cymbals we behold
In crimson hues the ending of his life!
The revelry of kisses bought with gold,
The just and wrathful rival, and the strife;
A harlot weeping o'er a corpse scarce cold;
A scullion fleeing with a bloody knife." (18)

That is a good sonnet in any company; and it is not unique in the pages of the Bulletin.

Bernard O'Dowd was writing fairly constantly after 1891. The Bulletin was the perfect field for his 'democratic' poetry, and nearly all of his early work appeared in its columns. All but four of the poems in his first collection (Dawnward? - 1903) were from the Bulletin. From New Zealand came a wealth of contributions, chiefly from Hubert Church, A. H. Adams and Dora Wilcox; from Tasmania James Hebblethwaite wrote much verse notable in an age of unrest for its calm and scholarly style; from Queensland George Essex Evans, Francis Kenna and others joined the band. J. Le Gay Brereton was a desultory contributor of light verse and lyrics after 1891; von Kotze wrote many poems with a philosophical bias. Shaw Neilson made his first attempts at poetry through the Bulletin in 1895, and contri-

buted at intervals thereafter until A. G. Stephens left the the paper in 1906. The lyrics of Will H. Ogilvie ("Glenrowan") came in a constant stream from 1894 to 1905. Hugh McCrae began writing for the Bulletin in 1896 and contributed fairly regularly for many years; Frank Morton commenced a prolific period of Bulletin verse-writing in 1897. Among women versifiers of this period were Ethel Mills, Rosamund Benham, Louise Mack, Agnes L. Storrie, Nellie M. Field, and Mary Gilmore.

In the new century came Will Lawson ("Quilp N.") writing of the sea and ships and various other topics; George Cochrane ("Grant Harvey") contributing verse marked by vigour and deep feeling and intense interest in Australian affairs; R. J. Cassidy ("Gilrooney"), Cecil Poole, Ernest O'Ferrall ("Kodak"), S. H. Prior, Bernard Ingleby, "Furnley Maurice", Louis Esson, F. S. Williamson and C. J. Dennis; and amongst the women writers the most constant were: Kathleen Walker (later Kathleen Dalziel), G. B. Lyttleton ("G.B. Lancaster"), Mabel Forrest, Dorothea McCrae, Marie E.J. Pitt. There was a host of other contributors all through this period and a fuller list is given in Appendix 5. Bulletin poetry of the 'nineties and the early years of the new century was the poetry of its readers, not of a few staff writers. It was a vital thing, not an artistic decoration.

A. G. Stephens was largely responsible for the lyric side of Bulletin poetry from 1894 to 1906. Archibald's interest remained chiefly centred in witty and topical verse, and that continued in an unabated stream as long as he was editor

But the lyric tradition which Victor J. Daley had started was strengthened and given a purpose by A. G. Stephens. His very enthusiasm stimulated writers everywhere. Will H. Ogilvie acknowledged his personal debt in this regard in a letter written to Stephens in 1929:

> "I shall never forget the kindness which you gave me in those days, the literary encouragement, the hospitality of your home in the Blue Mountains and your friendship in Sydney." (19)

He had earlier expressed thanks for the obligation that he (and other writers) were under to the Red Page critic:

> "There is a lot of good-natured badinage about The Pink Page for Pale Poets, but the fact remains that poets have much to be thankful for and people that would not have been heard of but for 'The Bulletin' have at least been given a fair start." (20)

Stephens' work behind the scenes was constant; he was continually suggesting improvements, polishing verses so that they might be fit for publication. His papers show what a great debt many poets owed to his editing. There is a letter from Charles Juror, for example, written after the Sydney Morning Herald had reviewed Victor J. Daley's At Dawn and Dusk, and had commented on what it called the faulty editing and poor selection. -

> "I happen to know that but for the Bulletin's vigour in pushing the merits of Daley's verse, and Mr. Stephen's judicious elimination of many inelegancies and

errata, the book would never have appeared or would not have reflected the credit it will upon the author. Over three years ago I remember going over with Daley a long list of suggested emendations, got from your office, in the projected collection, and in every instance the suggestion seemed to me to be apposite and valuable." (21)

By 1906 A. G. Stephens had done more than any other individual Australian towards putting Australian lyric verse into permanent book form (See Appendic 3). Meantime he was constantly urging others to publish their poems. His work in this regard alone entitles him to rank as a builder of Australia's poetic tradition.

But it was on The Red Page that Stephens really did his best work in this respect. It was his field for publicising the work of the poets, extolling their merits, upholding their honour. In a classic article in 1899 he defended the balladists against Walter Murdoch who had belittled them in the Melbourne Argus.(22) He took up the cudgels effectively for the lyric poets against attacks in English papers in 1898 (23) and 1905.(24) On the former occasion he claimed that Australia's best lyrists were in no way inferior to their contemporaries in England. He quoted A. H. Adams' poem In King Street, Sydney, and maintained that it -

"Would have attracted attention in Stephen Phillips' book - and England can do no better than that."

Of W. H. Ogilvie's poem Habet he claimed:

> "The spirit and sweep of this are as good as Browning at his best; and even Browning might have envied the last stanza, and the magnificent last quatrain."

Stephens quoted appreciative overseas opinion. Thus Richard Le Gallienne had written of Roderic Quinn:

> "(Quinn's poetry) vibrates with that rare thing emotion; it is deeply felt; and it is rich in natural magic and in startling felicities of phrase. The words make pictures all the while they are singing to us with their sad elusive music." (25)

Stephens accepted the fact that an Australian poetic tradition was in the making; he took the matter very seriously, analysing each poet's merits and assessing his worth. He was the first to attempt a comparison of the literary qualities of Australian poets in a formal way (R.P. 3/12/98). -

> "Now it is possible to make arbitrary measurement of the poetical characteristics of some Australian Poets.
>
> Daley - Intellectual emotion plus fancy.
> Quinn - Emotion plus imagination.
> Kendall - Intellectual emotion plus imagination.
> Gordon - Imagination plus fancy.
> Stephens - Intellectual emotion plus fancy.
> Lawson - Emotion.
> Boake -- Emotion plus fancy.
> Bayldon - Intellectual emotion.

> Of course spheres overlap. Daley is occasionally streaked with emotion, Quinn with intellectual emotion; the imagination of Kendall is rather in the atmosphere of his poems than in the poems; Boake's and Ogilvie's fancy wings higher than Gordon's - sometimes almost reaching imagination. Stephens' intellectual emotion is often close to emotion."

Thus, and in many other ways, did the enthusiasm of A.G.Stephens for Australian poetry light up the columns of The Red Page for ten years. Not everybody agreed with his opinions, even in his own time. But the vigour with which he pursued his ideal, the zest with which he set out to train aspiring poets, had an enormous effect. "While A.G.S. was there on The Red Page," wrote Vance Palmer, "it seemed worth while to write, and a compulsion to write well." (26)

By 1906 the Bulletin had established a tradition which gave Australian verse-writers an assurance that there was a field for their work. The popular poet had come into his own through the encouragement given by Archibald to topical verse with a democratic bias. Such verse was marked by strength and sincerity, and in it we may see fulfilled the Colonial Monthly's expectation of a national literature - " ...more than an elegant luxury..... its growth mirrors the character of a nation". Henry Lawson spoke for the Bulletin and echoed the Colonial Monthly when he replied to his "cultured critics" in 1897 :

"You were quick to pick on a faulty line,
That I strove to put my soul in;
Your eyes are keen for a 'dash' of mine
In place of a semi-colon -
And blind to the rest. And is it for such
As you, I must brook restriction?
'I was taught too little?' I learnt too much
To care for a pedant's diction." (27)

Through the body of popular verse that was published in the Bulletin emerged something of the soul of the growing nation, something that would probably not have found expression in a less conventional or more strictly literary journal.

Something more, however, was achieved. Amongst the enthusiasts whom Archibald had gathered around him were some who were capable of better things in an artistic sense. The popularity of the Bulletin had attracted many whose interest lay in the purely lyrical field. For these some critical direction was needed. This came from A. G. Stephens, whose inspired guidance between 1894 and 1906 made the Bulletin the outstanding literary journal in Australia. The lyric took its place beside the topical poem, other aspects of Australian life assumed equal importance with social and political questions, and poets were encouraged to work by world standards. In the years that Archibald and Stephens worked together the Bulletin was the centre of Australian literary development.

CHAPTER 8

"The Bulletin" since 1906

This ladder to Parnassus they
Expectant climbed - as still one may."

E. J. Brady (B. 1/2/50.) (1)

It was hardly possible in the new century for any paper to have exactly the same influence as the Bulletin had exercised earlier. The Australian general outlook had changed : Isolationism had lost favour with the growing realization that the new Commonwealth was vulnerable to outside attack ; idealistic democracy had given way to political strategy; and there was a consequent loss in national fervour which must inevitably have been reflected in the work of the writers, For this reason alone it is not surprising that the literary influence exerted by the Bulletin was moderated at this period. But there were other important factors at work also.

By the end of 1906 the literary departments of the Bulletin were under new management. A.G. Stephens had but lately withdrawn from the staff. He left a vacancy which could not be adequately filled; he deprived himself of a medium admirably suited to his critical ability, and Australian literature of the benefit of his enthusiasm and judgment. Archibald had resigned

as editor in 1903, and James Edmond had stepped up to fill the position. Thus the two men who had been principally instrumental in making the Bulletin a literary force in Australia had left it by the end of 1906.

Moreover, the next year saw the beginning of two important literary publications which were to contest the Bulletin's supremacy as a medium through which writers could reach the public. Not long after he had severed his connection with the Bulletin, A. G. Stephens produced his monthly, the Bookfellow. This little magazine had appeared originally in 1899, when the Bulletin had published it. It lapsed, however, after only five numbers had come out. With renewed vigour Stephens, who by this time had established personal contact with writers all over Australia and New Zealand, brought out an improved publication in 1907. It was a splendid literary magazine, and Stephens was in an admirable position to make it successful. Its career, however, was checkered. Only six numbers appeared in 1907. It was resurrected in 1911 and was then published continuously until February 1916. After a further lapse it came out again in December 1919, and appeared regularly until March 1925, when it finally ceased publication. The Bookfellow was a purely literary magazine, and attracted work from most of the writers who had been connected with Stephens through the Bulletin. But it suffered the fate which so many literary magazines have suffered in Australia - it could not create a sufficiently wide interest to maintain itself.

In 1907, also, Archibald published the first copy of his new magazine, The Lone Hand. It was mainly (but not exclusively) literary, and, like the Bookfellow, attracted both established writers and newcomers. It ran continuously from 1907 until 1921, and was produced during the whole of that period by the Bulletin Newspaper Co.. The Lone Hand was an excellent publication; but the number of people interested in a specifically literary periodical was too small to ensure its continued existence, and, like contemporary and later attempts to cater for the minority of literary-minded people, it failed.

During the decade or more immediately after 1906 the Bulletin lost its unique position as the writer's avenue of expression. It would not have been surprising if, in face of competition from the Bookfellow and The Lone Hand, it had completely lost its grip on short-story and poetry contributors. But the Bulletin had the advantage of its competitors in several respects. The reputation which it had built up under Archibald and Stephens remained after their departure. Moreover, it was a weekly and it created wide interest apart from its literary appeal. James Edmond had the ear of the people on political and financial questions; prolific illustrators like Norman Lindsay and David Low kept up the traditions which made the Bulletin the most attractive illustrated paper in Australia; and topical and social matters were discussed in witty verse. This background of general interest secured circulation and supported the Bulletin's literary activity.

From 1906 to 1911 A. H. Adams was in charge of The Red Page. There was a distinct drop in the standard of criticism after the A.G. Stephens period. Adams was a sound poet but had not the critical ability, the freshness, the enthusiasm of his predecessor. He was succeeded in 1911 by Bertram Stevens. The contrast between these two editors and A.G. Stephens was evident, though they tried to run The Red Page on the established lines. Reviews of books continued, and there was a constant attempt to keep the Australian achievement before the eyes of the public. "Furnley Maurice", A. D. Bayldon and others discussed poetry; Arnold Wall's early verses were assessed (11/4/07), and Dulcie Deamer's work (9/1/08). A series of biographies of Australian writers was featured on The Red Page in 1911 and 1912; and the custom of reviewing the year's achievement in literature was commenced in the latter year. In short, the policy of publicising the work of Australian writers was consistently maintained. The stimulating competitions begun by A. G. Stephens were continued with much success. Special emphasis was placed on the sonnet. There were competitions for a sonnet on Australia, on the Federal Capital, on each of the months in Australia. The results were specially interesting because of the large number of entries in each case. It may be that such competitions lead to artificiality; but many of the sonnets were good; and the competitions produced several series of sonnets on the months in Australia which may prove to be of lasting interest.

Yet, despite such efforts on the part of Stephens '

successors, The Red Page lost its power to inspire Australian writers. It lacked the drive of the great enthusiast, the discernment of the genuine critic.

The steady stream of contributions continued after 1906. The principal verse-writers were those who had been regular contributors in Stephens' time - Randolph Bedford, "O.C. Cabot", W.T. Goodge, E.J. Brady, "Grant Harvey", Mabel Forrest, Henry Lawson, Louis Esson, Edmund Fisher, Edward Dyson, "Kodak", Helen Jerome, Frank Morton, "Gilrooney", "Furnley Maurice". Amongst the new-comers during Edmond's editorship were Hal Gye, who first appeared in 1907, H.M. Green, who wrote verse from early in 1908, Dorothea Mackeller and Arnold Wall. In 1913 came Lindo Webb, Nina Murdoch, Harrison Owen, Fred McCartney and others. The two most important arrivals, however, were C.J. Dennis (he had written a verse or two only in Stephens' day) and David McKee Wright.

During his early association with the Bulletin Dennis wrote much verse that was at once topical and serious. Later the basic poems for The Sentimental Bloke, The Moods of Ginger Mick, Backblock Ballads, and The Glugs of Gosh appeared. Such poems caught the popular interest as the ballads had in an earlier period, and formed the nucleus of books which were to have an enormous sale. Part of Dennis's success must be attributed to the fact that he first wrote for the Bulletin which was by far the most suitable medium for popular verse. He wrote

much for other papers later; but it is by the books mentioned above that he will be chiefly remembered - books made up largely from his Bulletin poems.

David McKee Wright's early New Zealand poems were reviewed on The Red Page on January 31st 1907. A few weeks later he commenced a twenty-two-year period of extensive verse - contribution. Like V.J. Daley, Wright has been too often judged solely by his Celtic Twilight verse. This is a mistake. He was not a poet detached from the affairs of the mundane world of reality and interested merely in some artificial, mythical world of his own imagination. On the contrary, there have been few of the most prolific topical writers who have produced a greater volume of verse on current affairs. As "Pat O'Maori", "Curse O'[illegible]" or "Mary McCommonwealth" he wrote an immense amount which has been forgotten but which has its place in the history of our social and satirical verse. Someone has yet to do for David McKee Wright what Muir Holburn and Marjorie Pizer have done for Victor J. Daley. Perhaps then we may form a new estimate of this versatile writer, an estimate which will give him a greater measure of recognition as an Australian poet. Cecil Mann wrote his literary epitaph thus:

> "He could not write badly, and he wrote at any length about almost anything." (2)

Nevertheless, Wright marks a transition. His topical verse lacks the fervour which was the distinguishing mark of the sociological and political verse of the [illegible]

and satirical, but it had no soul. The general decline of political idealism, and the departure of Archibald and Stephens from the Bulletin, had meant a loss in driving power for the popular poets. The interest now was in small things rather than in big movements, and there was little of the Utopian vision which looked to the years ahead for the realisation of great ideals. Between 1906 and the first World War the established Bulletin tradition in popular verse was maintained; but something of the old spirit had been lost.

David McKee Wright was officially in charge of The Red Page from 1916 until his death in 1929. As a critic and guide he stood firmly by two principles in poetry - melody and form. Under his influence the sonnet became very popular in the Bulletin. His own "Crown of Sonnets" (B, 19/2/20) is a feat of virtuosity probably unique in the language. It is modelled on an old Italian form and consists of fifteen sonnets each one beginning with the last line of the previous one, and the fifteenth made up of the first lines of the other fourteen. Artificial, perhaps, but indicative of a mastery of technique which is too often scoffed at today. There is a sonnet tradition in Australia, and in its most flourishing period - the early 'twenties - it was mainly through the Bulletin and David McKee Wright that it was effective. His own sonnets were generally in sets. For example, there were eight sonnets on "Laughter (5/8/20), five on "Time" (18/11/20), seven on "Roads" (9/6/21), seven on "Friendship" (14/7/21), seven for the major English poets (17/11/21). Others who were writing

sonnets at that time were A.A. Bayldon, Cecil Mann, M.A. Robinson and A. Lawlor.

Apart from his sonnets, Wright wrote much poetry affected by a bias towards traditional Irish themes. On the whole his influence may be said to have been neutral as far as a distinctively Australian poetry was concerned. It is arguable that his connection with the Bulletin for so long a period may have been partly respnsible for the fact that its poetry lost its special Australian flavour.

During Edmond's editorship the short story tradition was maintained, but there was little progress. The writers of the late Stephens period continued to contribute freely, especially "Kodak", C.A. Jeffries, Hugh McCrae, E. Dyson, Robert Brothers, Alf Brasch and, occasionally, "Furnley Maurice". Amongst the new writers were Katherine Susannah Prichard (who wrote one story in 1907 and no more for the Bulletin for ten years), David McKee Wright, Lilias Gordon, Norman Lindsay, Les Robinson (he wrote an isolated story in 1914 and many after 1919) and Bernard Cronin. Gradually during this period the principle of extreme brevity in the short story was relaxed. There was, indeed, a decline in interest in the short story; often there was but one story each week. This was no doubt due to the fact that The Lone Hand was making an appeal for short stories. It is interesting to note, for example, that Dulcie Deamer, who wrote her first story in 1907, contributed stories to The Lone Hand but not to the Bulletin. After 1916 she wrote verse frequently for the Bulletin

A new period may be said to have commenced in 1915. James Edmond resigned in that year and his place as editor was taken by Samuel Henry Prior. Archibald had brought Prior to the Bulletin as financial writer early in the new century. He had been editor of the Barrier Times (Broken Hill) and was then in his mid-twenties. When he took over the editorship Prior supervised all the literary material; from 1917 until the early 'thirties he did all the final selection of verse and stories for publication.(3) He was, in effect, both general and Red Page editor. Harold Mercer summed up his editorial qualities by a comparison:

> "Archibald's habit of paragraph-polishing usually provided for a sting in the tail, and the sting was liable to be pure Archibald. Jimmy Edmond couldn't refrain from taking a paragraph that appealed to him and making it virtually his own. Prior performed his surgical work in such a way that even the parent of one of his subjects had to study hard to find out where the cut had been made. The thing remained the author's. The substitution of a quick word or two for an involved paragraph left no scar on the original plan. As a rule J.H.M. Abbot stands stoutly for the integrity of his copy, but many a time and oft he referred to the 'magic word or two' from Prior that had brightened it up. 'He never really alters, but the stuff always seems a bit better after he has done with it.'" (4)

Prior's sympathy with writers is well illustrated in the case of Henry Lawson. Lawson, so touchy in his later days, had complete confidence in two men - S.H. Prior and George Robertson. These two, more than any others in Australia, helped him to keep up his writing. They corrected and encouraged, and succeeded in bringing the best possible out of him. It may be mentioned here that Lawson contributed to the Bulletin right up to his death, but in verse mainly. It was only near the very end that he again contributed a few stories.

Although he edited constantly, S.H. Prior did not attempt to channelise the ideas of his writers. His ideal for the Bulletin was that it should be the field of expression for the best writers in Australia. It may be appropriate here to notice that by the time Prior was firmly established in the editorial chair the general policy of the Bulletin had changed considerably. Under Archibald it had been radical and anti-imperial; Edmond had stood firmly behind the Labour movement during the years in which it developed into a political party of considerable power. With changes in political theory and practice, with Australia an established unity as the result of Federation, and with many of the original Labour aims achieved, the Bulletin became less and less radical. The old isolationist theory died in the early days of Federation; the Bulletin which championed conscription in 1917 was vastly different from the Bulletin which railed against participation in the Boer War in 1900. Moreover, it gradually changed its aims on the matter of internal political

policy, drifting away from its Labour sympathies. John Webb, who joined the staff at Prior's invitation in 1920, became associate editor in 1924, and was general editor from 1933 to 1948, attacked Communism fiercely during his long period with the Bulletin. Perhaps he overstressed the connection between Labour and Communism; perhaps he saw the dangers inherent in the excessive demands of a powerful Labour Party; or perhaps the Liberal interests which prevailed where once had been Archibald's radicalism just got the upper hand. However that may be the change in policy is manifest and interesting. It has meant that the Bulletin has not the same popular appeal that it had; some of the spice has gone. Under such conditions it was inevitable that the writers whom S.H. Prior looked for should have been more conventional than those of the early days. Even apart from Bulletin change in policy, the emphasis in Australian literature has gradually shifted. The ballad died a natural death, the short story grew more sophisticated; popular poetry gave place to something more subtle. Yet for the young writer a paper with an assured circulation was still essential. Under S.H. Prior the Bulletin continued to fulfil this requirement, and remained for many the focal point of interest in Australian literary affairs. In 1934 Frank Dalby Davison wrote:

> "I believe that the small 'number of people who care passionately' for literature are most readily communicated with through 'The Bulletin'." (5)

But to come back to Prior's encouragement of the best writers im Australia. The most important figure was Vance Palmer. In some ways he is a connecting link between the foundational period and the modern period in Australian literature. His early poems did not appear in the Bulletin. But when his first book of poems was published in 1915 it was reviewed on The Red Page and the author hailed as a "genuine Australian poet". (6) Three weeks later his prose works were also reviewed. Whether the encouragement here given was the cause, or whether in the nature of things it was inevitable, Vance Palmer was contributing to the Bulletin within a very short time afterwards - his first poem was published on November 18th, 1915, and his first story on Fenruary 17th 1916. Now Vance Palmer is one of our most representative literary figures, and his connection with the Bulletin is important. He is ardently Australian, desires to see the development of a vigorous Australian literature, is a poet of no mean quality and a prose writer of distinction. He illustrates the effect of S.H. Prior's literary policy as Henry Lawson does Archibald's. Vance Palmer gave weight to the Bulletin when its early well-known writers were passing on. He was the first of a series of new writers of importance.

In 1915 "Zora Cross" commenced a period of prolific contribution in verse, story and criticism. Nora McAuliffe's lyrics first appeared in 1916, and she continued to write for the Bulletin for about thirty years. Bartlett Adamson was a constant contributor in verse from 1916 until 1919 and a

desultory one thereafter. Other important verse writers were: Elsie Cole, Dulcie Deamer, Hilary Lofting, Margaret Fane, Leon Gellert, Myra Morris, Dale Collins and the balladist Jim Grahame. Mary Gilmore also contributed occasionally after 1916. A noteworthy figure who appeared at this time was Kenneth Slessor. His first Bulletin poem was published on July 19th. 1917. In 191[illegible] six of his poems appeared, and in 1920 five. Thereafter his work was done chiefly through Smith's Weekly, though he contributed to various magazines. It is interesting to note that this first of our modern poets commenced his work in the Bulletin.

In the 'twenties there were many new and constant contributors. Paul McGuire, Cecil Mann, Louis Lavater, R.D. Fitzgerald, Norma L. Davis, E.M. England, Robin Hyde, E.V. Kelleher, Ronald McCuaig. Such names show that the Bulletin was still the medimu through which the poets made contact with the Australian audience. And the same is true of shorte story writers. In the new period (after 1915) came Bernard Cronin, Vance Palmer, Jack McLaren, Dale Collins, Harley Mathews, Cecil Mann, Ion Idriess, Myra Morris, G.M. Turnbull, F.T. McCartney, Con. Drew, R.G. Lamond, Charles Gilmour, S. Stedman, Margaret Fane and Hilary Lofting in collaboration. These are the outstanding names in the short story history of the time; they were all constant contributors to the Bulletin.

During most of S.H. Prior's period as editor there was no dominant figure on The Red Page. But it continued to be the place for reviews of all kinds of books - especially Australian books. During the 'twenties and 'thirties its original func-

tion was that of a forum for literary discussion. It regained some of the interest it had lost after A.G. Stephens had left the Bulletin. The most important Australian writers contributed to the discussions - David McKee Wright, Hilary Lofting, "Furnley Maurice", the Lindsays, Frank Dalby Davison, Vance and Nettie Palmer. There were many more besides. Frequently the discussion turned on the current state of Australian literature and the possibilities of the future. Some of the recurring topics were concerned with the question of Australian writers going overseas because of lack of support at home; the question of the use made by Australian periodicals of cheap syndicated material, especially short stories, and the consequent loss to Australian writers of a market for their work; the question of the novel in Australia, and the reasons for its slow development. These discussions were taken very seriously and a general enthusiasm for the development of Australian literature was manifest. This no doubt had much to do with the interest shown in the novel and the short story towards the end of the 'twenties.

It was in 1927 that the Bulletin announced its interest in the Australian novel. Hitherto there had been a general lack of interest in the subject. Novelists felt no assurance that they could get their books published in Australia, and having no assured audience here they looked abroad for one. During the early 'twenties England began to show interest in our writers. Vance Palmer and Randolph Bedford found favour with

English magazines, and Dale Collins, having failed to find a suitable outlet here, went to England where he was notably successful. There was always a tendency for Australians writing for the English public to distort the Australian scene. The Bulletin was first to make a move to remedy this state of affairs. In August 1927 it published the following announcement:

> "THE BULLETIN realises that the time has come when something should be done for the long story and the long-story writer. It therefore announces a competitic with prizes so substantial that it believes that the very best of which Australia is capable will be forthcoming." (7)

The prizes offered for the winning novels were: 1st - £500; 2nd - £125; 3rd - £75.

The response to this first competition was remarkable. Five hundred and seventeen novels had been submitted by the closing date - June 30th 1928. Undoubtedly some of these had been projected long before the Bulletin announced the competition. Moreover, much of the work was immature and not fit for publication. But the fact that so many had the courage and industry to see them through a full novel indicated an interest that was heartening. The winning entries were::

1. A House is Built by M. Barnard Eldershaw. (It was published in the Bulletin under the title The Quartermaster.)

2. Coonardoo by Katherine Susannah Pritchard.

3. Men are Human by Vance Palmer.

These novels were published serially in the Bulletin. When the second competition closed on the last day of 1929, two hundred and seventy five entries had been lodged. The awards were made thus:

1. The Passage by Vance Palmer.

2. Wards of the Outer March by K.G. Taylor.

3. Cattle Camp by J.J. Hardie.

Amongst the novels highly commended were the following:

Blue North by Henrietta Drake-Brockman;

Break O' Day by John Crisp;

Alien Corn by G.M. Turnbull.

It was originally intended that there should be a third novel competition, closing in 1930; but the depression caused the abandonment of this plan. However, in 1934, after the death of S.H. Prior, the Bulletin made this announcement

> "To recognise the services to Australian literature of the late Samuel Henry Prior, editor of THE BULLETIN for 18 years, his son, H.K. Prior, has provided £100 per annum for a prize to be known as the S.H. Prior Memorial Prize, which will be awarded every year for a work of fiction .... The trustees will publish the successful work together with any others which they may deem worthy. The winning novel will be published within two months after the announcement

of the results." (8)

For the first year of this competition two hundred and ten entries were received. Kylie Tennant was awarded the prize for Tiburon, Dymphna Cusack being second with Jungfrau, and Alison Smith third with The Heritage. In 1936 Miles Franklin won the award with All That Swagger. Two hundred and thirty-eight entries came in for this second competition. For the following two years there was no award, and the Bulletin insisted that the prize would not be given for any work not up to the required standard. It was then decided to widen the competition to include all literary work. In 1939 the award went to Miles Franklin and Kate Baker for their work entitled Who Was Joseph Furphy? (9) Three works were adjudged equal in 1940 and the authors shared the prize: They were:

The Pea Pickers by Eve Langley.

The Brown Van by Kylie Tennant.

Lachlan Macquarie by M.H. Ellis.

Subsequent awards went to Gavin Casey, 1942 (It's Harder For Girls), Douglas Stewart, 1945 (The Fire in the Snow), and Brian James, 1946 (Cookabundy Bridge). No prize was given in the years 1941, 1943, 1944, and the competition lapsed after 1946.

Thus for at least a decade after 1928 the Bulletin was the centre of interest for Australian novelists and novel-readers. During that period it published twenty-seven novels in serial form - (See Appendix 6). Nothing comparable

with this had been done before in connection with the long story. Public interest was aroused in Australian novels and a stimulus provided for authors. But the Bulletin went further. As it had done before, when A. G. Stephens had insisted that it had a duty in the publishing world, so now it published the works of many Australian writers.

As a result of Prior's Novel competitions in 1928 and 1929 about eight hundred novels reached the Bulletin office. Of these at least fifty were considered worthy of publication. (10) By the end of 1932 seventeen had been published in serial form in the Bulletin. Several people were interested in the publishing of Australian books, and eventually, early in 1933, a company was founded under Bulletin protection for this specific purpose. The company was known as The Endeavor Press, and the prime mover in its formation was P. R. Stephensen.

Queensland Rhodes Scholar for 1924, Stephensen had remained in England after going down from Oxford, and had studied the publishing business. When Norman Lindsay met him there in the early thirties, he convinced him that the time was opportune for the formation of an Australian publishing company. Stephensen came back to Australia and turned to the Bulletin for assistance. He proposed that since the Bulletin had fostered the Australian short story, had encouraged the poets over a period of fifty years, and had lately been instrumental in creating a widespread interest in the Australian novel, it was the institution best suited to set up a company for the publication of Australian books.

The Bulletin welcomed the project and The Endeavor Press came into existence. It was a separate company but was run in close conjunction with the Bulletin. Amongst its publications were the following:

The World is Yours	-	G. B. Lancaster.
Pageant	-	G. B. Lancaster.
Landtakers	-	Brian Penton.
Forty Six	-	Stewart Howard.
Karangi	-	F. S. Hibble
Saturdee	-	Norman Lindsay
Jonah (a reprint)	-	Louis Stone.
The Sow's Ear	-	Bernard Cronin.
The Doughman	-	R. D. Tate.
Psalmist of the Dawn	-	Mary Marlowe
Giving Amber His Chance	-	Jessie Urquhart.
Bring the Monkey	-	Miles Franklin
All That Swagger	-	Miles Franklin
Blue North	-	Henrietta Drake-Brockman.
Tiburon	-	Kylie Tennant.
Warders of the Sea	-	E. J. Brady
The Animals Noah Forgot	-	A. B. Paterson.
Walkabout	-	M. and E. Durack.
Chunuma	-	M. and E. Durack. (11)

One thing that was emphasised by the Bulletin novel competitions was the general lack of humour in Australian stories. In an attempt to discover humorists the Bulletin announce

late in 1934, a competition for a humorous short story. Four hundred and seventeen entries were submitted. The winners were:

1st. Charles Headley - Ernie (B. 14/11/34).

2nd. P.A. Darbyshire - I Tell All (B. 20/3/35).

3rd. H. Paull - Beneath Their Skin (B. 19/12/34)

After one more humorous short-story competition, which Gavin Casey won with Rich Stew (B. 26/2/36), the contest was thrown open to short stories of any type. There were nine hundred entries for the first of these competitions. They continued until 1938 and had the effect of stimulating short-story writers all over Australia and emphasising the fact that the Bulletin was still an important factor in the development of the short story.

Constant short-story writers to appear in the 'thirties included William Hatfield, E.V. Timms, Velia Ercole, Douglas Stewart, T. Inglis-Moore, F.D. Davison, E. Dithmack, Eleanor Dark, A.C. Headley, Dal Stivens, Ian Mudie, Don Edwards, F.S. Hibble, Margaret Trist, Marjorie Barnard, James Hackston, Olaf Ruhen, J.K. Ewers. The Bulletin of the 'thirties was as much the medium of the short story as it had been in Archibald's time. Gavin Casey was as ready to admit his debt to it as Louis Becke had been before him. In a prefatory note to his collection of short stories - It's Harder for Girls (1942) - he wrote:

> "All the stories in this volume were first published in THE BULLETIN, to which I owe as much for encouragement in cheque and in other forms as any of the hundreds of Australian writers it has helped in the past."

Meanwhile the Bulletin continued to provide the same scope for Australian verse-writers. Amongst the newcomers in the 'thirties were Paul. L. Grano, Douglas Stewart, Brian Vrepont, Ethel Davies, Rex Ingamells, Kenneth McKenzie, Eve Langley, Ian Mudie, and the balladists Ed. Harrington and Lex McLennon.

Probably the most important figure to appear during the 'thirties was Douglas Stewart, a young New Zealand writer. His first poem for the Bulletin was published on May 24th. 1933, when he was twenty, and from then on he was a prolific contributor of verse. On April 28th. 1938, his first Bulletin short story appeared. The Bulletin recognised his ability, and when, in 1937, having published his poems in New Zealand, he went to England, it expressed regret at the loss to the Australasian literary world and hope that he might return soon. When he did come back in the following year it was to join the staff of the Bulletin and take over The Red Page. Since the death of David McKee Wright in 1929 this page had been managed chiefly by Cecil Mann and John Dalley, though others had contributed articles frequently. It had never risen to the A. G. Stephens level since 1906. However, in the sixteen years that Douglas Stewart has been connected with the Bulletin, The Red Page has resumed some of its old significance Stewart has summed up his idea of its function in these days :

> "Though endeavouring to judge by world standards and also to keep its readers in touch with current literature overseas, The Red Page is still giving

preference to Australian literature and is interested in all manifestations of the Australian spirit - the tradition of the past and the movement of the present." (12)

This was the spirit of Stephens' Red Page. Like his predecessor, also, Stewart has faith in Australian literature. It is a different faith, however, for he lacks the enthusiasm which impelled Stephens to search for writers, and acts on the principle that the great artist will appear in due course :

> "Major Art occurs in all ages, under all political systems, in war and peace, in periods of faith and in periods of doubt, in changing times and in static times, whenever the great artist happens to be born." (13

Nevertheless, as a critic Stewart aims to encourage Australian writers and to help them to improve. His reviews of Eve Langley's work, though they err on the side of extravagance, may well be placed beside some of Stephens' reviews for the encouragement they offer. (14) He assisted Francis Webb from his first poem when he was seventeen until he could acclaim "A Drum For Ben Boyd" as "major poetry". (15)

A glance at an individual number of the Bulletin still gives little indication of the importance of The Red Page; it is the accumulation of critical writing over the years that is significant. A quick method of estimating the nature and extent of Stewart's work as a critic is to read his collected Bulletin articles published in 1948 under the title of

The Flesh and The Spirit. The book illustrates the range of criticism on The Red Page and the fresh approach of the writer to literature. Reviewing it Norman Bartlett wrote:

> "The Red Page is still to my mind the most lively reading and Douglas Stewart one of the few Australian critics who treat literature as a great and exhilarating experience and not as a sociological phenomenon or a subject for a University thesis." (16)

Nothing so clearly indicates the importance of The Red Page today as the part that the Bulletin has played in recent movements in the Australian literary world. It was the Bulletin, for example, that was responsible for the annual collections of poetry and short stories which have been a feature of the last twelve years. In 1941 The Red Page reviewed two books which had been published under the auspices of the Commonwealth Literary Fund - Vance Palmer's National Portraits and C. Bede Maxwell's Wooden Hookers. Two weeks later, on The Red Page, Douglas Stewart wrote of these:

> "Neither will cause a single ripple in the stream of creative literature in this country." (17)

He continued:

> "There are two things the board could well do on its own initiative: publish an annual anthology of Australian poetry on the lines of the "New Zealand Best Poems" and an annual collection of stories by the dozen or so first-class story-writers whose work each year

> is lost in the files of the newspapers. The influence of both could be enormous as a continual spur to young writers, as a means of letting the public know the work of genuine quality that is being produced, as a vehicle of publicity for Australian writers in other countries, and as a method of keeping poetry and the short story alive and vigorous.

The publishing firm of Angus and Robertson took up this suggestion enthusiastically. The proprietors urged the staff of the Bulletin to undertake the task of editing the first annual collections. Cecil Mann edited the short stories and Douglas Stewart the poetry. Thus there came into existence, at the suggestion of the Bulletin, Coast to Coast and the Australian Poetry Annual, books which have done much to help Australian writers and create general interest in Australian literature.

These annuals serve as a guide to the literary activity in Australia. The selection each year is made by independent editors and may be taken to represent the best that has appeared during the twelve-month period. An analysis of the sources of the short stories which appeared in the ten annuals from 1941 to 1952 shows that the Bulletin is by far the most important medium for the publication of short stories. Such an analysis is here given:

Total number of stories	211
Stories previously unpublished	37
Stories from the Bulletin	84
Stories from Meanjin	14
Stories from Southerly	4
Stories from the Sydney Morning Herald	4
Stories from Home	3
Stories from Man	3
Stories from Angry Penguins	2

The remainder were either extracts from novels or stories taken from collections which appeared in the appropriate year.

Such evidence shows clearly that there is no single magazine in Australia which has anything like the importance of the Bulletin in the short-story world. A further examination shows that most of the writers whose stories in Coast to Coast are not actually taken from the Bulletin are, in fact, regular Bulletin contributors. It is the same with short story anthologies. In this case it is not easy to determine the source of all the stories; many are taken from collections but had originally appeared in some magazine. Yet in Australian Short Stories (Walter Murdoch and Henrietta Drake-Brockman, 1951), at least nineteen of the fifty-two stories first appeared in the Bulletin ; and if writers are considered it is found that at least thirty-nine of the forty-eight are

regular Bulletin contributors. Of recent short-story writers it can fairly be claimed that the following worked principally through the Bulletin: Brian James, Gavin Casey, James Hackston, A. C.Headley, Don Edwards, Alan Marshall, Douglas Stewart, Margaret Trist, Vance Palmer, Frank Dalby Davison, Myra Morris, O. E. Schlunke, R. S. Porteous ("Standby"), Roderic Finlayson, J. H. Melville, Gloria Rawlinson, Geoff. Bingham.

A study of the sources of the verses in the Australian Poetry annuals is not so easy, since no acknowledgments are made in each volume. Moreover, it sometimes happens that the work published had really appeared earlier than the period indicated in the title, and the searcher is misled. This much, however, can be said ; practically one-third of all the poetry included in the Australian Poetry series first appeared in the Bulletin. For the first three publications the figures were thirty-nine out of ninety-seven. If the first nine are taken, at least one hundred and three of the total three hundred and twenty seven poems printed were from the Bulletin. Again, if writers are considered, it is found that the majority of those represented in Australian Poetry contribute regularly to the Bulletin. So that, although the Bulletin is no longer the only medium for the publication of poetry, it is still by far the most important. The chief reasons for this are its consistent policy of encouragement of Australian verse, its regular weekly appearance and the wide audience it reaches. Purely literary magazines like Southerly and Meanjin lack the continuity of a weekly and the wide circulation of a paper which deals with matters of

general interest. Though they are excellent in their sphere, it is doubtful whether they can ever be a big influence in the development of a vital literature, such as needs regular scope for expression. Their writers are, in the main, Bulletin writers, who depend far more on the widely-circulated weekly than on the more literary and exclusive quarterly.

The chief poets who have appeared in the Bulletin over the last twelve years are listed in Appendix 8. The story is the same as before - the list includes the most active of the contemporary poets :- F. John Blight, Roland E. Robinson, Mary Finnin, Rosemary Dobson, Francis Webb, Eric Irvin, David Campbell, Nancy Cato, Judith Wright, Ethel Anderson, Nancy Keesing, David Rowbothom, Elizabeth Riddell, W. Hart-Smith, Nan McDonald, Val Vallis.

Two further points might be noticed regarding the Bulletin's close connection with poetic trends during the 'forties. It was the chief medium for the publication of a considerable spate of poetry written by service-men during World War II. The Red Page devoted much space to the encouragement of these soldier-poets. In Ian Mudie's anthology of verse by Australian Service-men - Poets at War (1944) - there are forty-nine poems taken direct from magazines. Of these twenty-eight are from the Bulletin, eleven from Salt (The Army Educational Journal), four from Meanjin, four from Poetry, two from the Sydney Morning Herald.

Secondly, the Bulletin has been the principal supporter of the recent movement towards an Australian historical narrative poetry. Some of the best contributions in this field are listed here :

"Heemskerk Shoals" (R. D. Fitzgerald) - B. 8/3/44.
"A Drum For Ben Boyd" (Francis Webb) - B. 3-17/7/46.
"Disaster Bay" (Francis Webb) - B. 8-22/1/47.
"Leichhardt Pantomime" (Francis Webb) - B. 3-17/12/47.
"Pyramid" (F. John Blight) - B. 12/5/48.
"Birdsville Track" (Douglas Stewart) - B. 22/10/52.

Douglas Stewart wrote in 1948 :

> "In the past we have had the ballad and the lyric; we have now something that is beginning to look remarkably like the epic. Nobody who is a member of THE BULLETIN staff and who likes to see fine tradition continuing, could fail to take pleasure in the fact that this paper which published Paterson and which published McCrae and Shaw Neilson, has had the honour of publishing the lion's share of these long poems; but they are written to no BULLETIN formula." (18.

Two points stand out clearly in the literary history of the Bulletin after 1906. Since the departure of Archibald and A. G. Stephens it has seldom had the power to inspire writers. This has been partly due to the lack of an enthusiastic and critical guidance, partly to a change in Bulletin general policy, and partly to a wider change in

Australian outlook. Nevertheless, it has maintained the literary status which its two great pioneers gave it as "mouthpiece and market-place" for Australian literature. In these two points we have summarized the literary importance of the Bulletin. In its early years it suited the spirit of the times. Archibald provided literary incentive of a popular and democratic sort, and a little later Stephens gave the paper literary standing and something of a soul. During those years it created writers who expressed through its columns something of the essence of the national spirit. In fact it produced a literature of popular sentiment. During the last fifty years the Bulletin has taken an active part in most literary movements in Australia, and has continued to provide scope for writers; but it has lost the power to produce vital literature. No other organ, however, has succeeded it in this respect, and there are few which can compare with it today as a medium of expression for Australian writers of verse and short-stories.

REFERENCES

Note - The following abbreviations are used:

B. for The Bulletin

R.P. for The Red Page

Chapter 1

1. P. 18. From a poem entitled "The Austalian".

2. C. Hartley Grattan : Australian Literature" (1929) - P. 29.

3. R. M. Crawford : "Australia" (1952) - P. 154.

4. G. V. Portus : "Australia since 1606" (1951) - P. 142.

5. Vance Palmer : "National Portraits" (1940) - P. 138.

6. Brian Fitzpatrick : "The Australian People" (1946) - P. 216.

7. Quoted from "Freedom on the Wallaby" (ed. Marjorie Pizer - 1953) - P. 33. The title of the poem is "Tree of Liberty".

8. Quoted from the Austral Edition of the Selected Works of Marcus Clarke (Melb. 1890) - P. 501.

9. The Age (Melb.) - 24/2/60.

10. The Colonial Monthly - December 1868 - Pp. 263 - 4

11. Barron Field. The quotation is from a poem entitled "The Kangaroo", first published in Sydney in 1819 in "The First Fruits of Australian

12. A. L. Gordon. "Poems (1892) - From the preface - P. IX.

13. A. G. Stephens. (ed.) : "The Bulletin Story Book" (1901) - From the introduction - P. VII - VIII.

14. "Tom Collins" : "Such is Life" - P. 164. (1917 edition).

15. D B W Sladen (ed). : "Australian Poets" (1888) - Preface : PXXI.

16. Quoted from "A Century of Australian Song" (1888) - P. 225. (Ed. D B W Sladen).

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid. - P. 192.

19. B. 31/3/88.

20. Op. cit.

21. The Australasian - 12/6/69.

22. Ibid. - 15/1/70.

23. Ibid. - 19/2/70.

24. The Australian Journal - For the week ending September 2, 1865 - P.1

25. Ibid.

26. A regular paragraph.

Chapter 2

2. B. 22/1/81 - P. 1.

3. Ibid.

4. B. 31/1/80 - P.1.

5. This quotation is taken from an original typescript by A. G. Stephens. It is at present in the possession of Mr. Walter Stone of Sydney; and it is hereafter referred to as the Walter Stone Document.

6. B. 25/9/80 - (From Pages 2,3,4.)

7. B. 22/5/80 - P. 1.

8. B. 22/1/81 - P. 1.

9. B. 22/5/80 - P. 1.

10. B. 29/5/80 - P. 9

11. B. 26/6/80 - P. 2.

12. Ibid.

13. B. 1/1/81 - P. 3.

14. B. 21/1/82 - P. 1.

15. B. 28/5/81 - P. 1.

16. B. 11/3/82 - P. 1.

17. B. 4/6/81 - P. 1.

18. The Lone Hand - 1/10/07 - P. 687.

19. Ibid. - 1/11/07 - P. 67.

20. B. 15/1/87. - P. 15.

21. B. 20/8/03 - P. 21.

22. B. 27/8/03 - R.P.

23. The Lone Hand - 1/10/07 - P. 687.

24. B. 2/12/82 - P.1.

25. B. 4/7/85 - P. 14.

26. B. 18/6/87 - P. 5

27. B. 21/1/88 - P. 5

28. B. 24/12/87 - P. 1.

29. The Lone Hand - 2/12/07 - P. 140 (Article by Frank Fox).

30. Ibid. - P. 141.

31. Ibid.

32. B. 21/9/16 - P. 45.

33. Jebb. Richard : "Studies in Colonial Nationalism" - P. 193.

34. From a poem entitled "The Man Who Loved The People", written by Bartlett Adamson in "Smith's Weekly", Sept. 1919.

Chapter 3

1. P. 16. From a poem entitled "Archibald's Monument."

2. Palmer, Vance. : "National Portraits" (1948) - P. 127.

   The quotation is from an article entitled "The Editor - J.F. Archibald."

3. Archibald, Lucy. : From a letter written to The Mitchell Library, Sydney. It is part of the Archibald Papers collected in that library - (P. 5).

4. The Lone Hand - May, 1907 - P. 54.

5. Ibid.

6. These biographical details are taken largely from J. F. Archibald's reminiscences which were published in a series of articles in the early numbers of the Lone Hand , 1907. The title of the series was : "The Genesis Of THE BULLETIN."

7. Vide e.g. B. 12/3/92 - P.16.

8. Miles Franklin and Kate Baker : "Joseph Furphy - The Legend Of A Man And His Book" (1944) - P. 43. The letter was written by J. F. Archibald to Joseph Furphy under date 9/12/90.

9. Palmer, Vance : "National Portraits" (1948) - P. 127.

10. Bulletin MSS (Vol. 4) (Mitchell Library). The letter is dated 19/10/91.

11. A. G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). The letter is dated 13/11/89.

12. Ibid. Quoted from a typescript memoir of Barcroft Boake which was prepared by A. G. Stephens and later published with Boake's poems in 1897.

13. Op. Cit. - P. 131.

14. A.G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). The letter is quoted from the memoir mentioned in reference 12 above.

15. The original letter is in the possession of Mr. Jack Moir, Richmond, Victoria. It is attached to the inside cover of W. A. Boord's book of collected poems.

16. B. 24/12/87 - P. 12.

17. Waters, Thorold : "Much Besides Music". (1951) - P.37-38.

18. "Ink" (1932) - The quotation is from an article entitled "J. F. Archibald - An Editor of Other Days." It was written by Florence Baverstock (nee Blair) - P. 57.

19. B. 27/2/13 - R.P.

20. Ibid.

21. The Worker (Qld) - 9/10/19 - P. 17.

22. This copy and the letter are preserved (together) in The Mitchell Library, Sydney.

23. From the Walter Stone Document . (See Chapter 2, Reference 5).

24. B. 31/1/40. - P. 22.

25. B. 29/1/30. - P. 8.

26. A. G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). Quoted from memoir mentioned in Reference 12 above.

27. B. 8/11/33. - R.P.

28. The Worker (Qld) - 9/10/19. - P. 17.

29. From the Walter Stone Document (See Chapter 2 , Reference 5).

30. B. 18/9/19 - P. 14.

31. B. 12/3/92. - P. 16.

32. B. 5/12/96. - R.P.

33. B. 13/5/93. - P. 7.

34. From the Walter Stone Document (See Chapter 2, Reference 5).

35. B. 28/2/40. - R.P.

36. A. G. Stephens makes this claim in notes written in a copy of "Macleod of the Bulletin" by Mrs. Macleod (1931). This copy is preserved in The

Mitchell Library, Sydney.

37. S. Talbot Smith. - B. 8/11/33 - P. 5.

38. "Ink", 1932. - P. 57 (See Reference 18 above).

39. J. F. Archibald MSS (Mitchell Library). The letter is dated 22/8/00.

40. The Worker (Qld.) - 2/10/19 - P. 5.

41. Op. Cit. - P. 39.

42. The Worker (Qld.) - 2/10/19 - P5.

Chapter 4

1. P. 9. From a ballad entitled "How Gilbert Died".

2. A. G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). The letter is dated 13/11/89.

3. Stevens, Bertram (Ed.) : An Anthology of Australian Verse." (1906).

- P. XXVII.

4. B. 23/12/93. - P. 3 Verse by N. M. McDonnell.

5. B. 4/11/82. - P.11.

6. B. 16/1/86. - P.20.

7. B. 13/2/86 - P.18.

8. B. 25/12/86 - P. 5 Title: "Told at the Ford".

9. B. 23/1/86 - P. 20. Title: "Ben Butler".

10. B. 5/8/82 - P. 5

11. First instalment 14/10/82; last instalment 10/3/83.

12. B. 25/11/82 - P. 10.

13. Editions of Farrell's poems after his death left out the last three stanzas and ended thus :

" 'I have triumphed an hour over Death! For the child of my love!' So he died. "

14. Farrell, John; "How He Died and Other Verses" (1913). Memoir - P. XXI.

15. This poem was given the title : "Virginius" later (e.g. in "How He Died and Other Verses" - 1887.)

16. Published by Turner and Henderson, Sydney.

17. B. 21/1/99 - R.P.

18. Ibid.

19. B. 15/2/95 - R.P.

20. Gordon A.L. : Poems (1892) - Preface by Marcus Clarke - P. IX.

21. B. 15/2/95 - R.P.

22. A G Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). The letter is dated 13/11/89.

23. B. 21/11/12. - R.P.

24. The Academy, London, 25/7/03. "The Passing of Parker" was published in the Bulletin 7/8/95.

25. H. Morant was executed by a military firing squad for having, in company with other soldiers, summarily executed Boer prisoners without trial.

Chapter 5

1. A. G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). The poem from which this quotation is taken was written by Hugh McCrae to express his thanks to A. G. Stephens for literary encouragement. It is dated 28/6/06.

2. The material for this brief summary of A. G. Stephens' early life was obtained chiefly from Vance Palmer's book :

"A. G. Stephens : His Life and Work." (1941).

3. This quotation is taken from a lecture on Seeley's Colonial Expansion. The MSS of these "Gympie Lectures" are preserved in the Mitchell Library.

4. B. 10/6/99 - P. 6 The title of Stephens' poem is "Ave Australia".

5. The Bulletin Story Book. (1901) - Introduction - P. VIII.

6. B. 28/9/01 - R.P.

7. A. G. Stephens MSS. (Mitchell Library). The letter is dated 10/10/01.

8. Ibid. The letter is dated 1/6/03.

9. B. 1/10/03 - R. P.

10. A.G. Stephens MSS. (Mitchell Library) The letter is dated 3/10/03.

11. Devaney, James: "Shaw Neilson" (1944). This letter is quoted from P. 92.

12. A. G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). The letter is dated 30/6/16.

~~13.-- Ibid.-- The letter is dated 22/7/04.~~

14. Ibid. The letter is dated 22/12/97.

15. Ibid. The letter is dated 4/8/13.

16. Ibid. The letter is dated 25/9/06.

17. Ibid. The letter is dated April, 1932.

18. Ibid. The letter is dated 28/7/08.

19. B. 17/2/00 - R.P.

20. B. 1/10/03 - R.P.

21. B. 4/7/96 - R.P.

22. B. 29/8/96 - R.P.

23. B. 6/3/99 - R.P.

24. B. 13/2/97 - R.P.

25. B. 23/1/97 - R.P.

26. B. 10/7/97 - R.P.

27. B. 10/10/96 - R.P.

28. B. 5/1/01 - R.P.

29. B. 9/7/03 - R.P.

30. B. 3/11/00 - R.P.

31. B. 10/1/03 - R.P.

32. B. 28/8/97 - R.P.

33. B. 30/1/97 - R.P.

34. B. 28/1/04 - R.P.

35. B. 27/5/99 - R.P.

36. B. 28/8/97 - R.P.

37. B. 27/6/96 - R.P.

38. A.G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). The letter is dated 4/4/97.

39. Ibid. The statement is dated 22/5/97.

40. A draft of this work was awarded first place in the Bulletin "S.H. Prior Memorial Competition", 1939.

41. A.G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). There is no date.

42. Ibid. The letter is dated 2/8/06.

43. Ibid. The letter is dated 21/11/06. "Encouragement" was the poem

44. Ibid. The letter is dated 6/7/11.

45. Ibid. The letter is dated 6/11/98.

46. Ibid. The letter is dated 3/9/99.

47. B. 7/1/99 - R.P.

48. B. 19/2/98 - R.P.

49. Ibid.

50. A. G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). The letter is dated 30/9/18.

51. Ibid. The letter is dated 21/4/97.

52. B. 12/5/00 - R.P.

53. A. G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). The sentence was used (in the present tense) in a letter to A. G. Stephens from Jessie Mackay (New Zealand) - 31/1/03.

Chapter 6.

1. P. 30. The quotation is from a poem entitled "The Bard That is to Be" and signed "J. W. " It appears in "Rio Grande and Other Verses" as "Song Of The Future".

2. Punch Staff Papers (1872). - P. 149. The story is entitled "Charlton Grange" and was written by P.L. Murray.

3. Ibid. P. 147.

4. B. 24/12/81

5. B. 22/12/83

6. B. 5/1/84 - P. 7.

7. B. 27/12/84 - P. 3.

8. B. 21/11/12 - R.P.

9. Ibid

10. B. 14/4/88 - P. 8.

11. B. 5/10/95 - P. 28

12. B. 9/11/95 - P. 27

13. B. 17/12/08 - R.P.

14. His first sketch appeared 22/1/87. - (P. 15)

15. Title : "People I Have Met - No. 1 - The Baronet's Daughter".

P. 15.

16. B. 31/3/88 - P. 4.

17. Lawson wrote verse for the Bulletin until shortly before his death; but he contributed few stories after 1900.

18. B. 21/1/99 - R.P.

19. Vide Lawson Henry : "Humorous Verses". (1900). The reference is to the poem entitled "The Literary Friend" (P. 125) and its illustration on the front cover and frontispiece.

20. B. 12/1/01 - R.P.

21. B. 21/1/99 - R.P.

22. Stephenson P. R. : "The Foundations of Culture in Australia" (1936). - P. 67.

23. B. 3/7/97 - R.P.

24. "The Bulletin Story Book" (1901). Introduction - P. V.

25. B. 29/8/96 - R.P.

26. B. 13/2/97 - R. P.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. B. 14/2/03 - R.P.

30. Ibid.

31. B. 13/2/97 - R.P.

32. A.G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). The letter is dated 2/10/99.

33. B. 29/8/96 - R.P.

34. B. 16/12/99 - R.P.

35. Op. Cit. - P. V.

Chapter 7.

1. P. 3. The poem is entitled "Will someone Sing a Song" and is signed "Gilrooney".

2. B. 31/1/80 - P. 1.

3. B. 29/1/30 - P.48

4. Ibid. - P. 49.

5. B. 18/8/83 - P. 5. The poem is entitled "NO!"

6. B. 28/2/91. - P. 23 (One of three stanzas).

7. B. 12/5/00 - R.P.
8. B. 11/8/04 - P. 9 (One of four stanzas).
9. B. 21/12/89 - P. 27.

10. B. 19/1/11 - P. 43. (The poem was written in 1901).

11. B. 29/8/91 - P. 23. From a poem entitled "The New Party".

12. B. 25/4/91 - P. 15 From a poem entitled "Union to the Core".

13. B. 13/10/04 - P. 11. From a poem entitled "The Heart of Australia".

14. Two recent anthologies have done something to open up this field.

They are :

(i) Holburn, Muir , and Pizer, Marjorie -

"Creeve Roe : Poetry by Victor J. Daley". (1947).

(ii) Pizer, Marjorie - "Freedom on the Wallaby". (1953).

15. Stephensen P.R. : "The Foundations of Culture in Australia."

(1936) - P. 66.

16. B. 10/4/97 - P. 3.

17. B. 14/8/97 - P. 3.

18. B. 22/7/93 - P.13.

19. A. G. Stephens MSS (Mitchell Library). The letter is dated 26/3/29.

21. Ibid. The letter was written to J.F. Archibald and is dated 9/7/98.

22. B. 10/6/99 - R.P.

23. B. 15/6/98 - R.P.

24. B. 30/11/05 - R.P.

25. From the London Star - 9/11/99.

26. Palmer, Vance : "A. G. Stephens - His Life and Work". (1941) - P. 32.

27. B. 25/12/97 - P. 3. From a poem entitled "The Uncultured Rhymer to His Cultured Critics."

CHAPTER 8

1. P. 3. From a poem entitled "The Bulletin Stairs".

2. B. 30/10/29 - R.P.

3. W. E. FitzHenry, of the Bulletin staff, is my authority for this statement. His extensive knowledge of Bulletin history is invaluable to the research worker in this field.

4. B. 21/6/33 - R.P.

5. B. 25/5/34 - R.P.

6. B. 7/10/15 - R.P.

7. B. 18/8/27 - R.P.

8. B. 14/3/34 - P. 9.

9. Later published as "Joseph Furphy - The Legend of a Man and His Book." (1944).

10. B. 2/11/32 - P. 8.

11. Vide B. 18/7/45 - R.P.

12. Ibid.

13. B. 18/11/42 - R.P.

14. e. g. B. 6/5/42 - R.P.

15. B. 19/5/48 - R.P.

16. The Australian Observer - 4/9/48 - P. 151.

17. B. 15/1/41 - R.P.

18. B. 19/5/48 - R.P.

APPENDIX I.

The main acknowledged BULLETIN contributions of the chief balladists are here listed. For Farrell, Paterson and Boake the lists cover all verse contributions; for Lawson all verse contributions until the publication of his first book of poems in 1896. Ogilvie, Dyson and Brady are represented by their ballads alone.

John Farrell

14/10/82		First instalment of "Jenny."
10/3/83		Final instalment of "Jenny." (Unfinished).
14/7/83		Her Story (Later "Alice").
21/7/83	+	How He Died.
28/7/83		The Marriage of Mucker.
18/8/83		No! ("Full-faced to England...").
22/9/83		A Drowned Offering.
22/12/83		A Bad Sovereign's Story.
19/4/84		To Henry George.
27/12/84	+	Dalton's Rise.
29/5/86	+	Peccavi.
5/6/86		That Veteran.
12/6/86	+	The Bell of the Ly-ee Moon.
16/10/86	+	The Last Bullet. (Later "Virginius").
20/11/86		Misread.

Note: Poems marked + were acknowledged in THE BULLETIN. The authorship of the others is decided chiefly by reference to "How He Died and Other Poems." (1887). Farrell also wrote much anonymous topical verse for THE BULLETIN.

A.B.Paterson

12/6/86	The Bushfire.
30/10/86	A Dream of the Melbourne Cup.
25/12/86	The Mylora Elopement.
5/3/87	The Deficit Demon.
2/4/87	Our Mat.
22/12/88	Pardon, the Son of Reprieve.
25/1/89	The Corner Man.
9/2/89	The Sausage Candidate.
30/3/89	In Re a Gentleman, One.
23/11/89	Mulligan's Mare.
21/12/89	An Idyll of Dandaloo.
21/12/89	The Bard That Is To Be. (Signed J.W.)
21/12/89	Clancy of The Overflow.
4/1/90	How I Shot a Policeman.
23/3/90	Our New Home.
26/4/90	The Man From Snowy River.
19/7/90	The Hypnotist.
20/9/90	Those Names.
22/11/90	The Maori Pig Market.
20/12/90	On Kiley's Run.
20/12/90	The Story of Conroy's Gap.
21/3/91	Come by Chance.
13/6/91	In The Droving Days.
18/7/91	The Flying Gang.
5/9/91	The History of a Jackeroo.
7/11/91	As Long As Your Eyes Are Blue.

25/4/96	Hay and Hell and Booligal.
12/12/96	Song Of Artesian Water.
12/12/96	Shouting for A. Camel.
11/12/97	On The Grey Gulf Water.
10/12/98	Idylls of The Turf.
11/3/99	The Matrimonial Stakes.
25/3/99	The Sydney Cup,1899.
17/6/99	The Federal Bus Conductor and The Old Lady.
14/10/99	The 'Bottle-Oh' Man.
9/12/99	Father Riley's Horse.
9/12/99	Investigating Flora.
9/12/99	The City of Dreadful Thirst.
19/5/00	Groom and Glory Boys.
19/5/00	That V.C.
16/2/01	The Maori's Wool.
24/5/02	It's Grand.

Henry Lawson

1/10/87	A Song of The Republic.
24/12/87	Golden Gully.
24/12/87	The Wreck of The Derry Castle.
12/5/88	The Song of The Outcasts.
30/6/88	Lets be Fools Tonight.
28/7/88	Faces In The Street.
17/11/88	Lachlan Side.
29/12/88	Beaten Back.

2/3/89	Eureka.
10/9/89	The Ghost.
14/9/89	Song Of The Waste-Paper Basket.
2/12/89	The Roaring Days.
2/12/89	The Legend of Mammon Castle.
29/3/90	A Word To Texas Jack.
19/4/90	The Watch on The Kerb.
19/4/90	The Samaritans and the Tramp.
24/5/90	The Song Of Old Joe Swallow.
24/5/90	The Glass On The Bar.
6/12/90	The Fire At Ross's Farm.
10/10/91	The Shame of Going Back.
31/10/91	The Literary Friend.
14/11/91	The Old Man's Welcome.
19/12/91	Ben Duggan.
19/12/91	The Shanty On The Rise.
16/1/92	The Ballad of Mabel Clare.
23/1/92	'Otherside'.
30/1/92	A Derry on a Cove.
13/2/92	A Study in the "nood".
19/3/92	Tambaroora Jim.
26/3/92	The Captain of the Push.
30/4/92	Constable McCartey's Investigations.
7/5/92	A Tug of War.
7/5/92	May Day in Europe.
7/5/92	Charlie Lilley.
7/5/92	Corney Bill.

25/1/96	But What's The Use?
28/3/96	After All.
Note :	"In The Days When The World Was Wide and Other Verses" was published in 1896.
11/12/97	The Lights of Cobb and Co.
1/4/99	The Sliprails and The Spur.
29/9/04	The Last Review.

Barcroft Boake

21/3/91	His New Love and His Old Friend. (A Short Story).
30/5/91	On The Range.
10/10/91	The Demon Snow Shoes.
17/10/91	'Twixt The Wings of the Yard.
31/10/91	The Digger's Song.
14/11/91	A Memory.
19/12/91	Where The Dead Men Lie.
19/12/91	Kitty McCrae.
19/12/91	Kelly's Conversion.
9/1/92	At The J.C. (West Qld.).
9/1/92	A Strike Story.
6/2/92	How Polly Paid for Her Keep.
6/2/92	Down The River.
13/2/92	A Valentine.
20/2/92	How Babs Malone Cut Down The Field.
12/3/92	On The Boundary.
19/3/92	Fogarty's Gin.
19/3/92	Jim's Whip.

26/3/92	After Cattle.
26/3/92	An Allegory.
2/4/92	A Song from a Sandhill.
16/4/92	Josephus Riley.
7/5/92	An Easter Rhyme - Rather Late.
7/5/92	Jimmy Wood - a Bar-Room Ballad.
14/5/92	A Wayside Queen.
4/6/92	Jack Corrigan.
11/6/92	Featherstonhaugh.
5/11/92	The Box-Tree's Love.
3/12/92	Our Visitor.
17/12/92	Skeeta - An Old Servant's Story.
17/12/92	Deserted - As Seen At Devlin's Siding.

W. H. Ogilvie

19/5/94	The March of The Flood.
16/6/94	Deserted.
23/6/94	Outlaws Both.
4/8/94	Loyal Heart.
25/8/94	The Sport of Kings.
6/10/94	Round The Fire.
15/12/94	The Riding of The Rebel.
26/1/95	Carbine.
23/3/95	Cobb and Co.
8/6/95	Northwards to the Sheds.
3/8/95	Taken Over.

2/6/00	The Pearl of Them All.
21/7/00	The Mulga Mail.
1/12/00	The Morning Gallop.
26/10/01	Love-Ridden.
7/12/01	Some Mulga Maxims.
8/2/02	Bush Spiders.
5/4/02	Making Back.
13/12/02	Lady's Hack.

Edward Dyson

5/10/89	An Ex-digger's growl.
16/11/89	The Old Broker.
7/12/89	The Emu of Rhoo.
21/12/89	The Worked-Out Mine.
11/1/90	The 'Guana'.
15/3/90	At The Church Picnic.
5/4/90	The Trucker.
26/3/92	The Song of The Stampers.
16/4/92	The Fossicker.
23/4/92	Struck it at last.
16/7/92	Night Shift.
30/7/92	The Old Whim Horse.
30/7/92	The Fact of the Matter (Later 'The Drover's Reply').
3/9/92	The City Mining Man.
10/9/92	Re These Bards. (re the Drover controversy).
10/9/92	Battered Bob.

17/9/92	The Life-Boat Man.
29/10/92	Whose Wife?
10/12/92	A Poor Joke.
17/12/92	Jonah's Luck.
16/2/93	The Splitter's Song.
22/4/93	When The Bell Blew Up.
8/7/93	Workers Wanted.
26/8/93	A New Girl Up At White's.
39/9/93	His Last Prospect.
27/1/94	German Joe.
17/8/95	The Old Camp Oven.
21/9/95	In Town.
2/11/95	The Freak.
30/11/95	When Brother Peetree Prayed.
28/12/95	Bullocky Bill and his Old Red Team.
4/1/96	The Shanty.
16/5/96	The Tin-Pot Mill.
5/9/96	A Friendly Game of Football.

E. J. Brady

23/5/91	The Wage Lord.
19/11/92	The For'ard Hold.
17/12/92	The Loading of 'The Pride'.
11/3/93	Sam Chee.
29/4/93	Jimmy - a city sketch.
19/8/93	Laying on the Screw.

16/12/93	Foreman of the Ship.
15/12/94	McPhee of Aberdeen.
7/9/95	The Passing of Parker.
14/12/95	The Sailor Man's Soliloquy.
19/12/96	Yankee Packet.
6/2/97	Wool-ho!
3/4/97	The Wool Fleet.
8/5/97	Down in Honolulu.
26/6/97	The Whaler's Pig.
17/7/97	Sic Transit.
21/7/97	With Coal to Callao.
14/8/97	To You.
21/8/97	Song of the Southern Trades.
28/8/97	Tale of 20 Men.
2/8/97	Sarah Dow.
11/12/97	You and Us.
18/12/97	Hides and Tallow.
22/1/98	Lost and given Over.
12/2/98	What the Bottle Said.
19/2/98	I've Got Bad News.
30/4/98	The Ways of Many Waters.
10/12/98	Roll the Cotton Down.
21/1/99	Which His Weakness is Women.
28/1/99	Nets below the Gangway.
27/5/99	The Fleets.
24/6/99	The Dead Ships.
1/7/99	There's Something at the Yard-Arm.

APPENDIX 2.

Note Re Ballad Publications

J. Farrell 1887 - "How He Died and Other Poems."
(Turner and Henderson, Sydney).
Contains 16 poems; 15 from BULLETIN.

A. B. Paterson 1895 - "The Man From Snowy River and Other Verses."
(Angus and Robertson, Sydney).
Contains 47 poems; 30 from BULLETIN.
Most of the others here first published.

H. Lawson 1896 - "In The Days When The World Was Wide and Other Verses."
(Angus and Robertson, Sydney).
Contains 49 poems; 24 from BULLETIN.
3 here published for the first time.
The other 22 from 5 other journals.

E. Dyson 1896 - "Rhymes From the Mines and Other Lines."
(Angus and Robertson, Sydney).
Contains 39 poems; 23 from BULLETIN.
2 first appeared in the Melbourne ARGUS.
Most of the others here first published.

B. Boake 1897 - "Where The Dead Men Lie and Other Poems."
(Angus and Robertson, Sydney).
Contains 31 poems; 25 from BULLETIN.
2 were first published in the 'Sydney Mail.'
4 were here first published.

E. J. Brady 1899 - "The Ways of Many Waters."
(THE BULLETIN Newspaper Co., Sydney).
Contains 34 poems; 23 from BULLETIN.
4 appeared first in "The Sunday Times".

W. H. Ogilvie 1898 - "Fair Girls and Gray Horses and Other Verses."
(THE BULLETIN Newspaper Co., Sydney).
(2nd Edition in 1899).
Contains 25 Ballads; 18 from BULLETIN.
The other 7 from 4 different journals.

W. H. Ogilvie 1903 - "Hearts of Gold and Other Verses."
(THE BULLETIN Newspaper Co., Sydney).
Contains 18 Ballads; 14 from BULLETIN.
Remaining 4 from 2 other journals.

APPENDIX 3

List of Books Published by THE BULLETIN before 1906

(With acknowledgements to Mr. Walter Stone for permission to use a ckeck-list prepared by him).

1888 The History of Botany Bay: by Arthur Gayll.
(Reprinted from THE BULLETIN where it ran as a serial from 19/11/87 to 29/9/88. The writer was Frank Donohoe, pseudonym as above).

1890 A Golden Shanty - Australian Stories and Sketches in Verse and Prose by Bulletin writers..(BULLETIN Series No.1).

1892 Tales of the Convict System - by Price Warung (William Astley

1893 The Last of Six - Tales of the Austral Tropics - by Ernest Favenc. (BULLETIN Series No. 3).

1898 Fair Girls and Gray Horses With Other Verses - by Will. H. Ogilvie.

1899 Maoriland - And Other Verses - by A.H. Adams.

1899 On Our Selection - by Steele Rudd (A.H.Davis).

1899 The Ways of Many Waters - by E.J.Brady.

1899 Hits! Skits! and Jingles - W.T.Goodge.

1899 The Hidden Tide - by Roderic Quinn(BULLETIN Booklet No.1).

1899 The Bookfellow - A literary magazine edited by A. G. Stephens. (THE BULLETIN published all five issues in this first series).

1900 A Rose of Regret - Poems by James Hebblethwaite. (BULLETIN Booklets No. 2).

1900 Castro's Last Sacrament and Other Stories by Albert Dorrington

1901 The Circling Hearths - Poems by Roderic Quinn (BULLETIN Booklets No. 3).

1901 The Bulletin Reciter

1901 The Bulletin Story Book - (With a preface by A.G.Stephens).

1901 Dreams in Flower - Poems by Louise Mack (BULLETIN Booklets No.4).

1901 The West Wind - Poems by Hubert Church (BULLETIN Booklets No.5).

1901 At Dawn and Dusk - Poems by V. J. Daley (A reprint of a volume first issued by Angus and Robertson, Sydney,1898).

1903 Our New Selection - by Arthur Hoey Davis.

1903 Dawnward? - Poems by Bernard O'Dowd (BULLETIN Booklets No.6).

1903 Hearts of Gold and Other Verses - by W. H. Ogilvie.

1903 Such is Life - by Tom Collins (Joseph Furphy).

1904 A Southern Garland - A reprint in one volume of BULLETIN Booklets 1 - 6).

1905 The Red Pagan - by A. G. Stephens. (A reprint of some Red Page articles).

1906 Australian Verse Writers - No.1 - V. J. Daley.
A biographical and critical notice by A. G. Stephens.

APPENDIX 4.

BULLETIN Short-Story Contributors - 1880 to 1906.

Note: The date after the author's name is the date of his/her first acknowledged (or known) contribution. The number in brackets gives the number of acknowledged (or known) stories by that author for this period. The numbers must be taken as minimum, as many contributed anonymously at first. Only those with more than one story acknowledged are here listed (with a few exceptions).

John Farrell	(5)	21/7/83
V. J. Daley	(34)	28/7/83
"Scotty The Wrinkler" (Philip Mowbray)	(35)	22/1/87
Ernest Favenc ("Delcomyn")	(80)	26/2/87
Edward Dyson	(106)	24/12/87
James Edmond	(11)	21/1/88
Henry Lawson	(52)	22/12/88
A. B. Paterson	(19)	25/1/89
Francis Adams	(6)	6/7/89
"A. Chee" (H. L. Ellis)	(14)	6/7/89
Randolph Bedford	(21)	21/12/89
J. A. Philp	(10)	21/12/89
Henry Siebel	(9)	25/1/90
J. Lyall	(5)	15/3/90
"Price Warung" (William Astley)	(96)	24/5/90
"The Dipsomaniac" (Henry Cargill)	(28)	21/6/90
J. F. Edgar	(5)	26/7/90

Mannington Caffyn	(12)	20/12/90
"Paul Mell" (J. B. Castieau)	(7)	14/3/91
Barcroft Boake ("Surcingle")	(2)	21/3/91
Walter L'Estrange	(5)	14/11/91
Bernard O'Dowd	(4)	19/12/91
"Polype"	(16)	12/3/92
J. H. Greene	(7)	30/4/92
Alex. Montgomery	(63)	25/6/92
H. C. Shaw	(2)	24/9/92
Ethel S. Turner	(5)	11/12/92
Jerome Darnet	(4)	1/4/93
Louis Becke	(27)	13/5/93
Lilian J. Turner	(5)	27/5/93
Louise Mack	(16)	10/6/93
"Ponte"	(6)	22/7/93
"Steele Grey" (John Steele Robinson)	(3)	12/8/93
J. B. Carpenter	(2)	21/10/93
"Capricornus"	(5)	11/11/93
"De Bakker"	(4)	30/12/93
Mabel Holmes	(5)	3/2/94
L. F. Millington	(4)	4/8/94
W. Brenta	(9)	15/12/94
Henry Fletcher	(21)	19/1/95
"Steele Rudd" (A. H. Davis)	(51)	6/4/95
T. H. Prichard	(2)	22/6/95
B. Espinasse	(3)	29/6/95

Albert Dorrington	(96)	20/7/95
"Curra Curra"	(4)	3/8/95
A. Meston	(3)	7/9/95
F. Rollitt	(11)	14/9/95
J. F. Edgar	(5)	14/9/95
Rose de Boheme	(7)	21/9/95
J. Evison	(16)	23/11/95
Roderic Quinn	(10)	15/2/96
J. H. Wagner	(3)	22/2/96
H. A. Conant	(4)	7/3/96
"Robin Studholme" (R. S. Thompson)	(4)	7/3/96
"Constance Clyde" (C. McAdam)	(27)	21/3/96
"Mamoose"	(7)	27/6/96
John Reay Watson	(4)	10/10/96
Montague Grover	(1)	17/10/96
Von Kotze	(8)	12/12/96
E. S. Sorenson	(30)	12/12/96
Arthur Watts	(3)	12/12/96
Barbara Baynton	(1)	12/12/96
"Thorold Dalrymple" (Thorold Waters)	(3)	23/1/97
Hugh McCrae	(4)	27/2/97
"Spinifex"	(7)	20/2/97
K. Langloh-Parker	(2)	24/4/97
M. E. Lloyd	(6)	12/6/97
Ambrose Pratt	(5)	19/6/97
Alfred A. Grace	(14)	24/7/97

Cecil Poole	(4)	31/7/97
Cripps Clarke	(4)	7/8/97
S. H. Prior	(5)	11/9/97
W. M. Fleming	(7)	16/10/97
F. Croson	(5)	20/11/97
Leslie Oakes	(2)	11/12/97
F. Marryat Norris	(5)	18/12/97
P. T. Freeman	(12)	19/3/98
P. Abbott	(6)	23/4/98
Francis Kenna	(2)	14/5/98
Nellie M. Field	(3)	14/5/98
Dorothy Elton	(2)	9/7/98
Edward Tregear	(2)	10/12/98
Frank Fox	(1)	21/1/99
C. A. Jeffries ("Hermes")	(44)	11/2/99
Ethel Mills	(12)	25/2/99
"Yarrum"	(9)	8/7/99
J. Drayman	(9)	19/8/99
A. D. Ellerman	(3)	14/10/99
A. Conor-O'Brien	(5)	12/5/00
C. H. Read	(5)	2/6/00
John Carew	(3)	11/8/00
"Tom Collins" (Joseph Furphy)	(4)	8/12/00
Barry Sprayton	(5)	9/2/01
F. J. Broomfield	(1)	13/4/01
"Kodak" (Ernest O'Ferrall)	(18)	2/11/01
"Smilax" (W. B. Treeby)	(7)	7/12/01

Leslie Oakes	(2)	7/12/01
"Grant Hervey" (George Cochrane)	(5)	18/1/02
Frank Morton	(8)	18/1/02
Frank Myers	(5)	15/2/02
Robert Brothers	(4)	9/8/02
"Hamer" (Harold Mercer)	(4)	23/8/02
"The Wasp"	(4)	30/8/02
Dorothy Elton	(2)	27/9/02
Robert Hap	(7)	6/12/02
Edmund Fisher	(4)	13/12/02
Harry Stockdale	(2)	11/4/03
E. J. Brady	(1)	2/5/03
Will Lawson	(2)	6/6/03
"G. B. Lancaster" (G. B. Lyttleton)	(20)	13/6/03
Rita Sunyassee	(3)	20/6/03
Dorothy McCrae	(8)	5/5/04
Howard Ashton	(15)	21/7/04
Alf Brasch	(13)	8/12/04
A. Wright	(5)	20/12/04
Helen Jerome	(3)	21/12/05
Maud Peacocke	(2)	1/2/06
Walter J. Hegarty	(1)	24/5/06
Louis Esson	(1)	1/11/06
Mabel Forrest	(1)	29/11/06
Nora Sark	(1)	20/12/06
Dowell O'Reilly	(1)	27/12/06

APPENDIX 5.

Chief BULLETIN verse-writers from 1880-1906.

Note: The balladists do not appear here (See Appendix 1).
A date after a name signifies the date of the writer's first acknowledged (or known) contribution.

A. Constant contributors in the early years.

E. B. Parnell

F. E. Diamond

Oscar Hughan

George Black

C. Wesley Caddy

Kenneth McKay

E. Lowe

Philip J. Holdsworth ("Quiz").

John Farrell (5/8/82).

B. Occasional contributors in the early years.

Henry Kendall (22/1/81)

George Gordon McCrae (4/8/83)

C. Occasional contributors in the late 'eighties.

Arthur Desmond

Francis Adams

Thomas Bracken

Sydney Jephcott

D. Prolific writers who started in the 'eighties.

Victor J. Daley (25/3/82)

Edmund Fisher (15/10/87)

Edward Dyson (5/10/89)

Note: V. J. Daley contributed until his death in 1906. Posthumous poems appeared as late as 1911.

E. Fisher and E. Dyson contributed topical and humorous verse until the 'twenties.

E. Constant contributors in the 'nineties.

Rose de Boheme

Bernard O'Dowd (10/1/91)

Cripps Clarke

"Steele Grey" (John Steele Robertson)

"Constance Clyde" (C. McAdam).

Hubert Church (11/11/93)

Louise Mack (10/6/93)

P. F. Spence

Francis Kenna

F. Rollitt

"Zadig" (I. Ormsby)

J. Alex. Allen

"Ishmael Dare" (A. W. Jose).

John Liddell Kelly.

J. A. Philp

"Uloola" (G. D. Humphry).

"The Pagan" (A. C. McKay).

W. H. Ogilvie (Lyrics from 1894)

Stefan von Kotze

F. Occasional contributors in the 'nineties.

A. G. Stephens (6/9/90)

James Edmond

P. E. Quinn

Jerome Darnet

A. A. D. Bayldon

Eardley Turner

Frank Fox

Ethel Mills

Shaw Neilson (5/12/96)

Thorold Waters ("Thorold Dalrymple").

John Reay Watson

George Essex Evans (7/5/92)

Dowell O'Reilly

Thos. E. Spencer

Rosamund Benham

J. Crawford

F. Marryat Norris

Agnes L. Storrie

Ambrose Pratt

Chris. Brennan

J. Le Gey Brereton

E. Crawford

Nellie M. Field

R. Crawford

"Ben Sun" (M. Benson)

Ella: Wheeler Wilcox

Randolph Bedford

Mary Gilmore (8/8/96)

G. Contributors who started in the 'nineties and wrote well into the new century.

"P. Luftig" (Peter Airey) (18/6/92)

James Hebblethwaite (8/8/96)

Roderic Quinn (31/3/94)

A. H. Adams (23/2/95)

C. H. Souter ("Nil") 8/8/96)

Hugh McCrae (31/10/96

Frank Morton (24/4/97)

W. T. Goodge (1/1/98)

"Milky White" (E. S. Emerson) (22/7/98)

"Prospect Good" (F. W. Ophel) (11/6/98)

E. J. Brady (23/5/91)

Mabel Forrest (1/5/97)

Note: Both Roderic Quinn and E. J. Brady wrote for THE BULLETIN (Occasionally) up to the late 'forties.

H. Constant contributors from 1900 to 1906.

Will Lawson ("Quilp N.") (7/7/00)

"Grant Hervey" (George Cochrane) (9/11/01)

R. J. Cassidy ("Gilrooney") (18/10/02)

"O. C. Cabot" (Edward MacCullogh)

Cecil Poole

F. Myers

J. F. Dwyer

Kathleen Walker (Dalziel) (28/3/03)

Dorothy McCrae

Edgar Heane Harris

Bernard Ingleby

M. E. J. Pitt (26/5/04)

Ruth M. Bedford

Louis Esson (28/12/05)

I. Occasional contributors from 1900 to 1906.

C. A. Bernays

A. Conor-O'Brien

Alice Grant Rosmyn

Helen Jerome

Maggie Sullivan

Eugenia Stone

Will Jarrett

S. Elliott-Napier

R. Webster ("Lola Ridge").

Hugh Stone

"Kodak" (Ernest O'Farrell).

S. H. Prior

C. Louis Randall

Johannes Carl Andersen

Arthur Wright

"Furnley Maurice" (2/2/05)

C. J. Dennis (19/11/03)

F. S. Williamson

Horace Halloran

"John O'Brien"

APPENDIX 6.

Novels published in serial form in THE BULLETIN

No.	Title	Author	1st Instalment
1.	Coonardoo	K. S. Prichard	5/9/28
2.	Bracken	Bernard Cronin	5/12/28
3.	A Rogue in Amber	J. B. Cooper	27/2/29
4.	The Quartermaster ("A house is Built")	M. Barnard-Eldershaw	25/5/29
5.	Paradise Plumes	G. M. Turnbull	31/7/29
6.	Merry Christmas	Arthur Groom	6/11/29
7.	Men Are Human	Vance Palmer	29/1/30
8.	The Passage	Vance Palmer	9/4/30
9.	Thirty Pieces of Silver	Montague Grover	30/7/30
10.	Break O' Day	John Crisp	5/11/30
11.	No Escape	Velia Ercole	21/1/31
12.	Cattle Camp	J. J. Hardie	20/5/31
13.	Alien Corn	G. M. Turnbull	23/9/31
14.	Blue North	Henrietta Drake-Brockman	20/1/32
15.	Dope	"Grantley Morris"	11/5/32
16.	One-Punch Patsy	Montague Grover	7/9/32
17.	Men Among Pearls	Henrietta Drake-Brockman	14/12/32
18.	Tiburon	Kylie Tennant	4/9/35
19.	Island Heritage	Alison Smith	1/1/36
20.	Bridle Track	J. J. Hardie	11/3/36
21.	The Papuan	Monte Holcroft	20/5/36

No.	Title	Author	1st Instalment
22.	Amathea	H. G. Lamond	19/8/36
23.	All That Swagger	Miles Franklin	16/9/36
24.	I Sold My Horses	Eric Lowe	4/11/36
25.	Legend For Sanderson	Vance Palmer	17/2/37
26.	No Train On Tuesday	J. B. Blair	8/9/37
27.	Promenade	G. B. Lancaster	12/5/38

APPENDIX 7.

Prominent short-story contributors whose connection with THE BULLETIN commenced after 1906. The date in brackets is the date of first acknowledged contribution. The most prolific contributors are indicated thus (+) after the date.

¤	K. S. Prichard	(17/1/07)
	D. McKee Wright	(30/5/07) +
	Norman Lindsay	(10/12/08)
	H. E. Reimann	(13/12/13) +
Ø	Les Robinson	(3/9/14) +
	Bernard Cronin	(16/9/15)
	Vance Palmer	(17/2/16) +
	Jack McLaren	(14/12/16)
	Dale Collins	(29/5/19)
	Ion Idriess	(13/12/24) +
	Cecil Mann	(5/11/25) +
	Myra Morris	(18/3/26) +
	G. M. Turnbull	(11/12/26) +
	F. T. McCartney	(11/12/26)
	Con. Drew	(11/8/27) +
	H. G. Lamond	(10/12/27)
	C. S. Gilmour	(10/12/27)
	Wilfred Blacket	(15/2/28)
	Margaret Fane and Hilary Lofting (in collaboration)	(6/6/28) +

¤ Her second story did not appear until 16/7/17.

Ø Most of his stories were written after 1919.

James Devaney	(28/11/28)
Dymphna Cusack	(23/4/30)
William Hatfield	(15/10/30)
E. V. Timms	(22/7/31)
Velia Ercole	(14/12/32)
Henrietta Drake-Brockman	(19/4/33)
T. Inglis-Moore	(13/12/33)
F. D. Davison	(14/2/34) +
E. Dithmack	(7/3/34)
Kylie Tennant	(28/3/34)
Freedom Sandom	(11/4/34)
Eleanor Dark	(2/5/34)
Gavin Casey	(13/2/35) +
A. C. Headley	(20/3/35) +
Dal Stivens	(10/7/35)
Ian Mudie	(22/1/36)
Don. Edwards	(24/6/36) +
Margaret Trist	(14/10/36) +
Marjorie Barnard	(6/1/37)
James Hackston	(2/6/37) +
Douglas Stewart	(28/4/38) +
Olaf Ruhen	(6/9/39) +
J. K. Ewers	(25/10/39) +
J. A. Christomar	(21/8/40) +
F. John Blight	(21/8/40)
Brian James	(15/7/42) +

Xavier Herbert	(20/8/41)
Oliver Filter	(3/9/41) +
O. E. Schlunke	(4/2/42) +
Nancy Cato	(13/1/43)
R. S. Porteous ("Standby")	(9/2/44) +
Roderic Finlayson	(9/8/44) +
J. H. Melville	(20/12/44) +
Geoff. Bingham	(17/10/45) +
John Fountain	(21/11/45) +
Ken Levis	(13/11/46)
Gloria Rawlinson	(8/1/47) +
Helen Meggs	(8/12/48)

APPENDIX 8.

Prominent verse-contributors whose connection with THE BULLETIN commenced after 1906. The date in brackets is the date of the first acknowledged contribution. The most prolific contributors are indicated thus (+) after the date.

David McKee Wright	(21/2/07) +
Hal Gye	(19/12/07)
H. M. Green	(9/1/08)
Dorothea Mackellar	(16/1/08)
Arnold Wall	(10/9/08) +
Dick Harris	(7/4/10)
Patricia Murchison	(21/11/12)
J. Lindo Webb	(30/1/13)
Nina Murdoch	(15/5/13) +
John Dalley	(17/7/13)
F. T. McCartney	(23/10/13)
Zora Cross	(16/9/15) +
Vance Palmer	(18/11/15) +
Nora McAuliffe	(6/1/16) +
Bartlett Adamson	(27/4/16) +
Elsie Cole	(25/5/16) +
Mary Gilmore	(21/9/16)
Dulcie Deamer	(28/9/16) +
"Gerardy" (H. H. Champion)	(26/10/16) +
Kenneth Slessor	(19/7/17)
Hilary Lofting	(22/11/17)

Margaret Fane	(10/1/18)
Leon Gellert	(11/7/18)
Myra Morris	(20/2/19)
Jessie Mackay	(13/3/19)
Dale Collins	(29/5/19)
Jim Grahame	(29/5/19) +
Paul McGuire	(18/3/20) +
Cecil Mann	(4/5/22) +
Louis Lavater	(22/6/22)
R. D. Fitzgerald	(30/4/25) +
Norma L. Davis	(15/7/26) +
E. M. England	(6/1/27)
Robin Hyde	(12/5/27)
E. V. Kelleher	(10/12/27)
Ronald McCuaig	(13/6/28) +
Ed. Harrington	(23/4/30) +
Paul L. Grano	(8/6/32)
Douglas Stewart	(24/5/33) +
Brian Vrepont	(7/6/33)
Ethel Davies	(5/12/34)
Rex Ingamells	(5/6/35)
Kenneth McKenzie	(5/8/36) +
Eve Langley	(9/12/36)
Lex McLennon	(13/7/38) +
Ian Mudie	(20/10/38)
James Hakston	(13/3/40) +

Roland E. Robinson	(16/10/40) +
William Rolliston	(22/1/41)
Rosemary Dobson	(7/5/41) +
F. John Blight	(28/5/41) +
Francis Webb	(10/6/42) +
Eric Irvin	(4/11/42)
David Campbell	(18/11/42) +
Nancy Cato	(13/1/43) +
Judith Wright	(10/2/43) +
Nora Kelly	(22/9/43)
K. Kollopy	(22/12/43)
Maurice Biggs	(22/12/43)
Ethel Anderson	(5/1/44)
Nan McDonald	(30/8/44) +
Val Vallis	(20/12/44) +
James Devaney	(16/1/45)
R. H. Webster	(23/5/45)
Eve Merritt	(6/6/45)
Nancy Keesing	(13/2/46) +
Ian Healy	(17/7/46)
David Rowbothom	(14/5/47) +
Elizabeth Riddell	(8/12/48)

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